

Migrants, minorities and employment in Germany: exclusion, discrimination and anti-discrimination

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MIGRANTS, MINORITIES AND EMPLOYMENT IN GERMANY

EXCLUSION, DISCRIMINATION AND ANTI-DISCRIMINATION

**RAXEN 3 Report
to the ▲ European Monitoring Centre on
Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC)**

by the ▲ RAXEN Focal Point for Germany
the european forum for migration studies (efms)
Institute at the University of Bamberg

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Executive Summary

The present general situation on the labour markets in Germany is the following:

- There are big differences between East and West Germany and between the North and the South: the unemployment rate in East Germany in 2002 was about 20%, in West Germany just under 9%;
- The picture is much more differentiated when looking at the regional level: Neubrandenburg (in the north of Berlin) has an unemployment rate of 25%, or Gelsenkirchen (West-Germany, Northrhine-Westphalia) of 15%, but in Freising (Southern Bavaria, near Munich) only less than 4%;
- Certain groups of persons are affected by unemployment to a particularly high extent: the unemployment rate for foreigners is twice as high as for Germans; the unemployment rate for Turkish is about 21% and for Russians (mainly family members of ethnic German immigrants (*Spätaussiedler*) and Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union) even about 50%;
- Unqualified people suffer much more from present developments than qualified people:
- Unqualified persons have an unemployment rate of about 20% (West Germany) and 50% in East Germany, but qualified people only 3% (West) or 5% (East).

The main features concerning the situation of foreigners on the (West) German labour market are the following:

- The labour market potential of foreigners is developing much more dynamically than that of Germans. The number of young foreigners trying to enter the labour market for the first time will increase significantly in the following years.
- The foreseeable rise in the number of foreigners entering the German labour market calls for an extensive education effort in order to improve labour market chances of young foreign labour.
- Whereas the number of foreigners seeking work has considerably increased, actual access to the labour market and to employment has severely deteriorated for foreigners over the last fifteen years. The employment rate of foreigners has decreased dramatically.
- Structural economic changes have affected foreign employees much more severely than German employees. Employment in manufacturing has been reduced considerably. In the service industry, however, employment increased for both German and foreign employees. But even here important differences between German and foreign employees remain: Foreigners are widely underrepresented concerning employment in services.
- The main factor underlying these persistent disadvantages is to be found in insufficient qualification levels of foreign labour. The percentage of labour with low qualification levels is still more than twice as high among foreigners than among German labour. Conversely, the percentage of foreign labour with intermediate qualifications levels is just half that of German employees. Even for younger employees, the situation remains basically unchanged.
- Due to structural economic changes entailing an increased demand for highly qualified employees, unemployment among foreigners has risen disproportionately over the last years. The unemployment rate for foreigners is twice as high compared

to that of all employees. Turkish employees have been affected most severely by this development.

- Looking at the development in certain regions, the labour market situation for foreigners is particularly dramatic: e.g. in Berlin, the unemployment among Turks is more than 40%.
- The number of self-employed persons among foreigners has risen considerably over the last 15 years. Nevertheless, the self-employment rate for this group is still significantly lower than the total rate. This increase in self-employment can be considered as a new economic opportunity for foreign labour, but also as a risky response to deteriorating chances on the labour market.
- There are clear indications as to how employment will develop in future: new jobs will be created in the service sector, first and foremost, and applicants for these vacancies will require good qualifications. The majority of foreign workers, however, lacks the necessary qualifications and will thus not be able to compete successfully for these new jobs. It is therefore essential, firstly, to improve qualification levels of foreigners who have already entered the job market. In addition, it is also essential that today's pupils will leave the education system with the necessary qualifications.

It can be stated that numerous young foreigners participate in general measures aimed at preparation and training for professional life. It is noticeable, however, that the proportion of young foreigners is decreasing for all types of measures. Although youth unemployment has dropped in Germany since 1983, this positive development has had a greater effect for young Germans than it had for foreigners. Looking at the statistics, one would rather expect that the participation of young foreigners in measures at the transition between school and job would have had to have actually increased.

Although after the abolishment of special training courses preparing for the employment and social integration of young foreigners (MBSE) promises were made to pay more attention to young foreigners within the general measures relating to professional preparation, there does not seem to have been sufficient implementation of this claim (cf., for example, Alt/Granato ■ 2001). What is needed, above all, are concepts specific to the target groups of the training measures carried out by the Federal Employment Office (assistance parallel to training and external training).

As the general measures aiming to foster professional integration are widely criticised, it comes as no surprise that there is a high number of special measures which are explicitly directed towards young foreigners, for example ☀ Bi-national training projects, ☀ KAUSA, ☀ Pro Qualification, the programme ☀ "Supporting Competence – Professional Qualification for Target Groups with a Special Need for Support". It is of particular importance to mention, however, that in terms of quantity, the measures for all disadvantaged young people reach a higher number of young foreigners than measures do which are specially conceived for young foreigners or migrants.

In addition to the general and special measures preparing for professional life and training outlined above, there is also a series of (state-run and non-state-run) organisations in the area of the labour market/employment which are concerned with the topics of racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. The aim of these projects is the reduction of discrimination and xenophobia in the workplace. Deserving of particular

mention here is certainly the programme ☀ XENOS - living and working in variety (*XENOS – Leben und Arbeiten in Vielfalt*).

Concerning discrimination, the poor positioning on the labour market of people with a migrant background can largely be explained by the human capital factors. Nonetheless, there are cases of discrimination in the access to the labour market and in the workplace, only very few of which come before the courts.

More frequently dealt with in the courts are cases of xenophobic or racist attacks in the workplace against employees of foreign origin. Laws concerning employment expressly provide the chance to dismiss employees who are seen to carry out (xenophobic or racist) attacks (verbal or physical) on foreign fellow-employees. However, frequently those affected do not take action against such attacks themselves for fear of the consequences, but the employers issue notices of dismissal against the "perpetrators". In recent years, employment legislation has increasingly had to deal with cases of racist actions in the workplace, in particular cases of abuse and racist utterances against foreign fellow-employees.

1. Introduction

The following employment study is divided into three parts. The first part describes in detail the situation of foreign employees on the German labour market. Furthermore, possible causes for the situation of migrants on the labour market are discussed and prognoses on the further development are given. Both of the second and third parts of the employment analysis focus on a more specific topic: As education and qualification are the most important conditions for integration in the labour market, different possibilities of qualification especially for young people with a migrant background are described in more detail first. Although the relatively poor positioning of migrants in the labour market is mostly explained by references to human capital factors, it cannot be denied that cases of discrimination do occur, both upon entering the labour market and in the workplace. Therefore, in the third part of the following study, several qualitative studies and also court cases were analysed to examine cases of discrimination in the labour market, too.

2. Foreigners in the Labour Market

(Elmar Hönekopp)*

2.1. Introduction: Germany, the reluctant immigration country with a new active immigration policy

2.1.1. The reluctant country of immigration

Germany has been an immigration country since decades: today, there live more than seven million foreigners in Germany, making up 8.9% of the resident population¹. More than four million people immigrated net only during the last ten years (foreigners/Germans, asylum seekers and refugees, Ethnic German immigrants, family reunification, migrants for education and labour migrants), and beginning with 1991 a new kind of labour migration appeared, at least in respect of quantities: temporary labour migration of so-called programme workers (seasonal workers, project tied workers, “new” guest workers, border commuters).

But the fact is that Germany had not accepted to be an immigration country till recently. That means that it has not developed a more concise migration policy, and along with that, it had not recognised the necessary measures regarding the consequences of that huge immigration, especially the consequences concerning the integration of the immigrants.

However, looking back through these past decades, we can in fact detect some regulations, which are typical elements of an immigration policy, e.g.:

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¹ For more detailed information on foreign nationals, the main nationalities and the residence status of non-German residents see tables 6 to 9 in the appendix.

- guest workers regulations of the fifties to the seventies,
- family reunification and access of these family members to the labour market²,
- regulations regarding asylum seekers and refugees and their access to the labour market³,
- regulations concerning the immigration of ethnic Germans,
- special measures regarding the promotion of the return of foreign workers,
- bilateral agreements with CEE countries regarding temporary employment of workers in specific areas or sectors (including regulations concerning working conditions): seasonal workers, project tied workers, new guest workers (for improvement of professional and language knowledge), border commuters⁴,
- the new naturalisation law of 1999,
- the so-called “Greencard”-initiative of the year 2000 (IT-decree) regulating the access to the German labour market for a limited number of highly qualified IT-workers from outside the EU⁵,
- the so-called “Lehmann”-decree (which came into power in autumn 2001, named after a well-known stock-exchange TV-journalist) regarding another exception of the recruitment ban for people from certain CEE-countries to be allowed to get temporarily limited work permits for jobs as domestic helpers in households of elderly people.

2.1.2. Future active immigration policy: the new immigration law

The discussion about the above mentioned Greencard-initiative influenced a very important development regarding a re-thinking about immigration in general, immigration control and integration of immigrants. As a result of that, an independent commission “Immigration” (“Süssmuth”-commission, after the name of the commission’s head, Rita Süssmuth⁶; search for it at <http://www.bmi.bund.de/>) had been established by the federal government, with the general objectives to formulate clear recommendations regarding a future immigration policy, to analyse the future demand for immigrants, how to control and limit immigration, how to avoid abuses of the various entrance possibilities (including asylum procedures), to

² At present, for newly immigrated family members there is a waiting period of one year before being eligible to apply for a work permit, with the exception regarding youngsters in the case that there is an apprenticeship contract.

³ The regulations regarding an access of this group to the labour market had been changed very often over the time. The waiting period varied between five and zero years, and is at present one year (the zero-year-rule has been changed by two regulations in the Work Permit Decree of 8 December 2000 and of 24 July 2001. It is possible now for asylum seekers and “tolerated” foreigners to obtain a work permit after waiting one year provided that no German or foreign citizen holding the same rights as a German citizen with respect to employment is available for this position (so-called *Vorrangprüfung*).

⁴ In 2001, 1.054 million work permits were issued for non-German labour (2000: 1.083 million work permits). More than one third of them were granted to workers with Polish nationality (especially for seasonal work). Other main nationalities were other East European countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania), Turkey and the succession states of former Yugoslavia.

⁵ Up to the end of December 2001, a total of 10,750 work and residence permits (so-called “green cards”) has been granted to non-German IT specialists, most of them to persons from India, Romania and Russia.

⁶ Rita Süssmuth, member of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), was president of the German Bundestag from 1988 till 1998.

propose immigration rules for persons of German origin (*Spätaussiedler*), mainly now from the area of the former Soviet Union, and to formulate an integration concept.

With its final report of July 4, 2001, the commission submitted a very concise analysis of the whole field, concerning proposals for measures in the various policy sections, and a coherent concept on a future design of Germany's migration and asylum policy (Unabhängige Kommission "Zuwanderung" 2001, see also Angenendt ■ 2002).

Under the responsibility of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and on the basis of the results of the independent commission "Immigration", a new law draft has been intensively discussed with the various affected organisations and political parties later in 2001 and in 2002. As a compromise result, the ▲ Federal Parliament (Bundestag) in November 2001 and the ▲ second chamber (Bundesrat) in March 2002 decided finally upon on the § "Law on control and limitation of immigration, regulation of stay, and the integration of union citizens and foreigners".⁷ Concentrating on labour market issues, the new law contains a number of interesting regulations on

- entrance possibilities for highly qualified workers, including a selection (point) system regarding the immigration of more qualified workers, independently from special labour market demand,
- temporary work concerning short term demand for labour,
- measures to integrate immigrated people, and
- new and changed responsibilities and procedures regarding access to the labour market.

With this new law, it is the first time in the history of Germany that it was acknowledged that Germany is an immigration country.

2.2. Foreigners and immigrants in the German labour market

2.2.1. General remarks

Labour market oriented migration and integration policy has to take into account the developments of the labour market (better: labour markets: there is not only one total labour market in Germany). Briefly characterised, the present situation in the labour markets in Germany is the following:

⁷ The law was signed by the federal president in June 2002, but rejected by the ▲ Federal Constitutional Court on 18 December 2002 which considered the voting in the second chamber (Bundesrat) unlawful. After this, the Bundesrat rejected the law in two further votings in February and June 2003, thus passing it to the intermediation commission.

- There are huge differences between East and West Germany and between North and South. The unemployment rate at present in East-Germany is about 20%, in West-Germany about 9%⁸;
- The picture is much more differentiated when looking at the regional level: Sangerhausen (Sachsen-Anhalt, near Halle) has an unemployment rate of 25%, or Gelsenkirchen (West-Germany, North-Rhine-Westphalia) of 15%, but in Freising (Southern Bavaria, near Munich) it is less than 4%⁹;
- Certain groups of persons are affected by unemployment to a particularly high extent: the unemployment rate among foreigners is twice as high as among Germans; the unemployment rate in 2001 among Turkish was about 21%¹⁰ and among Russians (mainly family members of ethnic German immigrants (*Spätaussiedler*) and Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union) even about 50%¹¹;
- Unqualified people suffer much more from present developments than qualified people:
among unqualified persons, the average unemployment rate in West-Germany is about 20% and 50% in East Germany, but among qualified people only 3% (West) or 5% (East).

The following analysis of the situation of foreigners in Germany's labour market is predominantly based on West Germany, as 97% of all foreign residents live and work in West Germany. When analysing the labour market opportunities of (former) migrants (and their descendants), it would actually be necessary to include the group of ethnic German immigrants (*Spätaussiedler*), too, as they are usually faced with the same problems as foreign migrants. However, as ethnic German immigrants are registered as German nationals on their arrival in Germany, they are not represented as a separate group in the statistical data our research is based on. In certain subsections of the following discourse, however, an attempt is made to deal with the situation of German immigrants.

2.2.2. Data used

For the purpose of dealing with an in-depth representation of the labour market situation of immigrants, the following data are being used:

Employee statistics (statistics on members of the compulsory social security system): They provide information on variables like sex, age, nationality, qualification, industries, occupation, income. One can use these data also for detailed regional analyses, down to the local level. As the name indicates, self-employed people and civil servants (of the public administration) are not part of this system. It represents about 85% of all employed, and more than 90% of the foreign employed work force. The employee statistics are managed and provided by the Federal Employment Services (FES, the German labour administration Bundesanstalt für Arbeit).

⁸ As for June 2002 (monthly data of the ▲ Federal Employment Services).

⁹ See footnote 6.

¹⁰ See chapter 2.2.3.6.

¹¹ Own calculation on basis of employees statistics and on structural data on unemployment of the federal employment services.

Microcensus: This is a questionnaire-based sample survey (German household-based labour force survey) of a 1%-sample, yearly carried out by the Federal Statistical Office in April, dealing with the various work related variables (employment, unemployment, non-active status) and a variety of other subjects. It is the only German source providing representative information for all employed, including self-employed.

Eurostat Labour Force Survey (LFS): Regarding Germany, the Eurostat LFS is a sub-sample of the German Microcensus, with an overall sampling fraction of 0.45%, which is often sooner available to researchers than the Microcensus.

Monthly unemployment statistics: The Federal Employment Services collect among others also administrative statistics on the registered unemployed. These comprehensive statistics contain a number of variables, like the main demographic information, former sector and occupation, qualification, nationality, availability for the labour market and inflow/outflow into/out of unemployment. Because of the comprehensive character of these statistics, information about the situation on local level can be gained as well. For monthly use, only a limited amount of the available information is provided for the public.

Structural data on unemployment: Every year in September, FES per EDP-procedures generates a data pool on all information in this field automatically out of the data available in the labour offices (see above). The use of these data can provide the basis for an in-depth analysis of the unemployment stock at that time.

2.2.3. The Elements of the labour market – developments and present situation in Western Germany

2.2.3.1. Development of labour potential

The labour market potential of foreigners is developing much more dynamically than the Germans⁷. The number of young foreigners trying to enter the labour market for the first time will increase significantly in the following years.

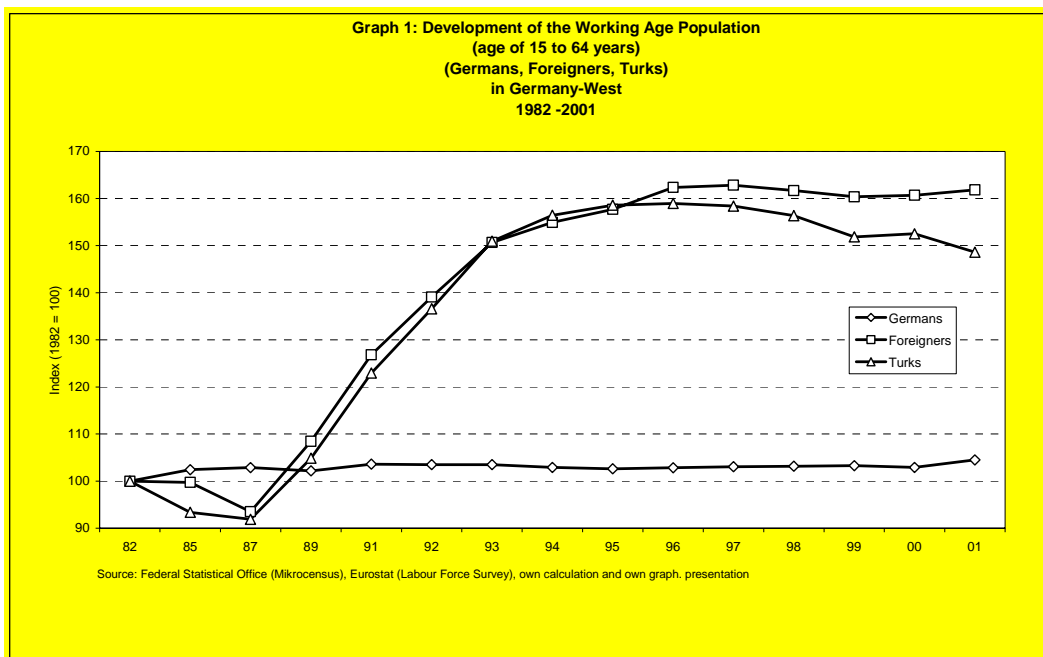
After witnessing several years of large-scale net migration inflows and a subsequent increase in its total population, the Federal Republic of Germany is at present seeing only minor net inflows. Consequently, population growth has slowed down considerably, with the percentage of foreigners continuing to be about 10.5% (Western Germany, 2001)¹².

Since 1990, there have been several changes in the ethnic composition of migrants: the percentage of persons originating from former "guest-worker" countries has been decreasing, whereas the percentage of foreigners from Eastern Europe has risen to approximately 13%.¹³ The latter development is mainly due to net migration inflows

¹² Source: calculated on data provided by the Federal Statistical Office.

¹³ Calculated on data provided by the Federal Statistical Office. One has to keep in mind, however, that the number of naturalisations, especially of Turks, has significantly increased over the last years. On the whole, more than 400,000 Turkish nationals have been granted German citizenship over the last 10 years (a trend that is still to increase in future). This is an important fact for our

from the territories of the former Soviet Union: non-German family members of ethnic German immigrants (*Spätaussiedler*) and contingent refugees (Jewish immigrants).



The number of foreign workers in Germany will increase considerably (because of demographic reasons¹⁴) – similar to the development of the last 15 years (cf. graph 1). This increase is expected to be highest for Turkish labour, on account of the age structure of this group: Compared to the total population, the Turkish minority, similar to other ethnic minorities, has a much higher percentage of young people under the age of 15. This entails that the number of Turks trying to enter the German labour market in the coming years (looking for jobs or job training) will be considerably higher than the number of foreign workers leaving the labour market in order to retire. This tendency stands in clear contrast to developments of the total population.

2.2.3.2. Education and the labour market

The foreseeable rise in the number of foreigners entering the German labour market calls for an extensive education effort in order to improve labour market chances of young foreign labour.

Educational achievement of migrants' children is considerably lower. But a successful school career and vocational qualifications are indispensable for good labour market opportunities.

analysis, as difficulties in labour-market access will not automatically disappear once a person has been naturalised.

¹⁴ It is not possible to estimate for the future the potential migration flow or the net immigration. Events and developments causing migration processes can change from one year to the next very rapidly and very sharply.

Due to the high percentage of foreigners (especially Turks) below the age of 6 years in the resident population, it can be assumed that the number of new entries from this group into the labour market will be disproportionately high over the next 10-15 years. Therefore it is essential – for employment, economic and general policy reasons – to substantially increase investments into the educational system (cf. e.g. Jeschek ■ 2001 and ■ 2002 and Granato/Werner ■ 1999). It has to be emphasised that young workers of foreign origin, due to their multiple language skills, could make an important contribution to Germany's export-oriented economy.

To get good schooling education is one precondition for ample opportunities to enter the labour market or vocational training after having left the school. Whereas most recent figures show that achievement in general schooling education is – contrary to former trends – slowly increasing, participation in vocational training (on the various levels) is still decreasing, and drop-out rates for foreign youngsters are twice as high as for Germans (Jeschek ■ 2002). Employers, however, more and more often select better qualified school-leavers for training places within this system. That means that the large number of foreign drop-outs of the schooling system has almost no chance to find a way into promising sectors of the labour market.

2.2.3.3. Access to the labour market and to jobs

Whereas the number of foreigners seeking work has considerably increased, actual access to the labour market and to employment has severely deteriorated for foreigners over the last fifteen years. The employment quota of foreigners has decreased almost dramatically.

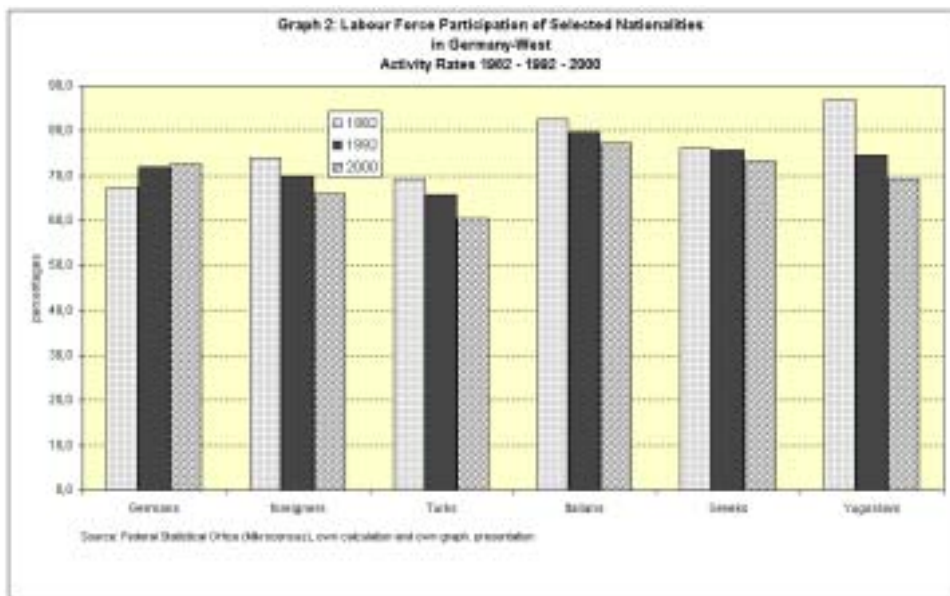
The labour force participation rate (or: activity rate)¹⁵ for Germans and foreigners respectively has developed fundamentally differently during the last 15 years. Whereas the activity rate of German nationals has been generally increasing (especially due an increasing percentage of women seeking gainful employment), the labour force participation rate of foreigners has decreased by 10% (cf. graph 2). Up to 1982, on the contrary, the foreign activity rate had been higher than that of Germans.¹⁶ If one compares the years 2000 and 1982, labour market access of foreigners has decreased by 8%, or about 9% for Turkish nationals (in relation to the total working age population), due to general supply side (population) trends, but also to negative developments in the labour market and the economy in general (demand side developments). These negative trends can be observed also for the other foreign nationalities, as shown in graph 2.

¹⁵ The labour force participation rate (or: activity rate) is calculated as the percentage of labour force (employed + unemployed persons), in relation to all persons between 15 and 64 years of age (working age population).

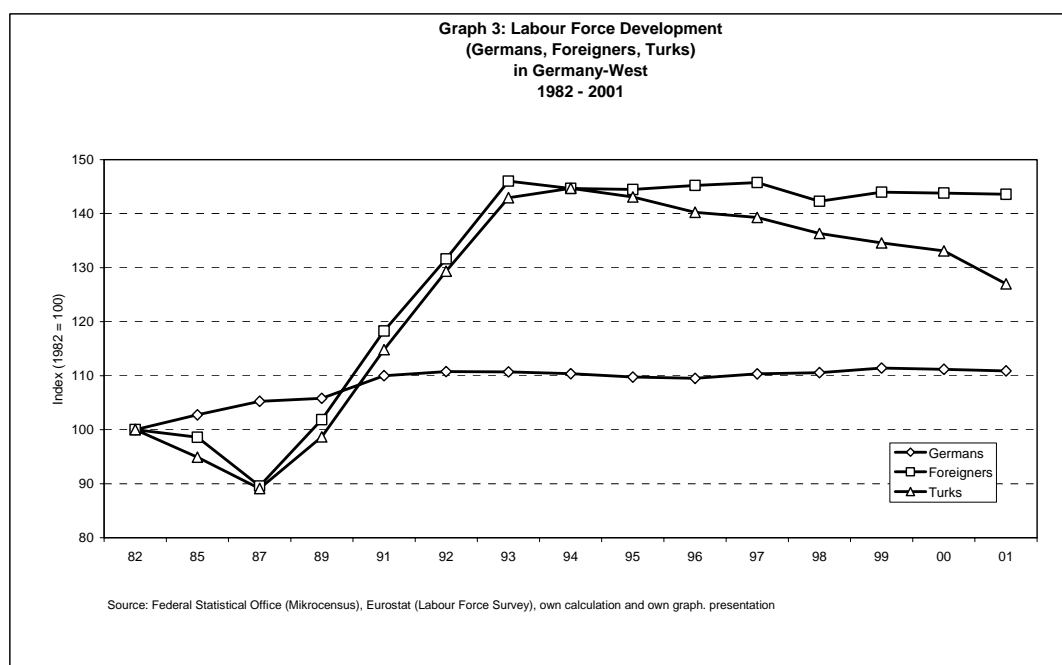
Labour force (or: economically active population) is that part of the population which is at work or is seeking employment.

Employment (or: employed persons): total employment consists – generally speaking – of self-employed people (persons working on own account, not employed by anyone else) and of employees (persons in dependent employment).

¹⁶ Persons originating from the former Yugoslavia form a special case, with a 20% decrease in their activity rate. This is mainly due to large-scale migration inflows of civil-war refugees.



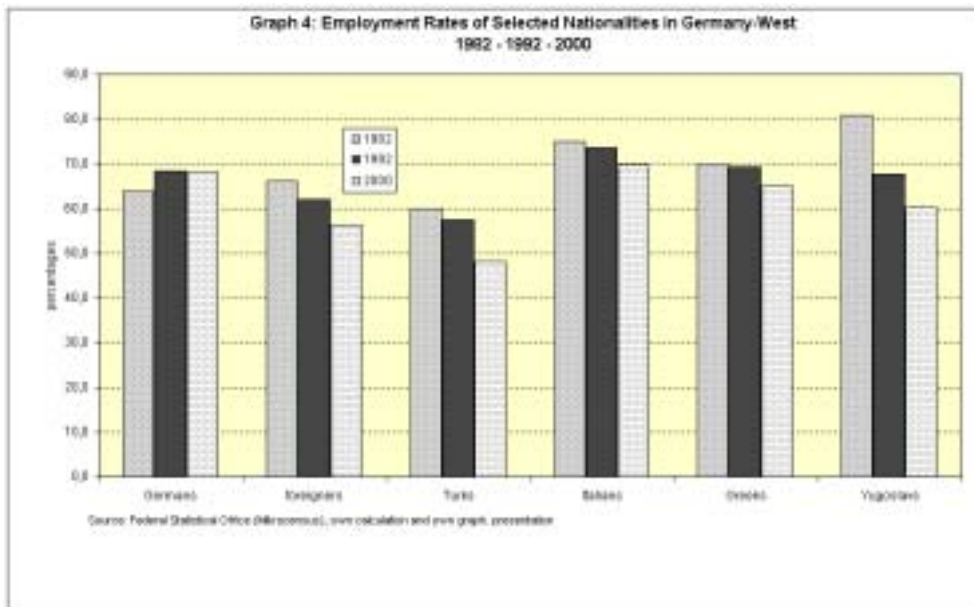
One has to bear in mind, however, that, in the same period, the actual number of foreigners in the labour market (labour force) has in fact increased by approx. 1.1 million persons, due to natural increases in their population and net migration inflows. And the foreign working age population has even increased by 2 million persons (cf. graph 3). Looking only at these developments, it is very obvious that education and vocational training policies are facing great challenges to improve the situation of foreigners (and other immigrants) concerning future competition for jobs. Comparing graphs 1 and 3, it is evident that barriers to enter the labour market have been increasing for foreigners during the last two decades.



Discrepancies in labour market access between German and foreign residents become even more obvious when one analyses access to employment. The

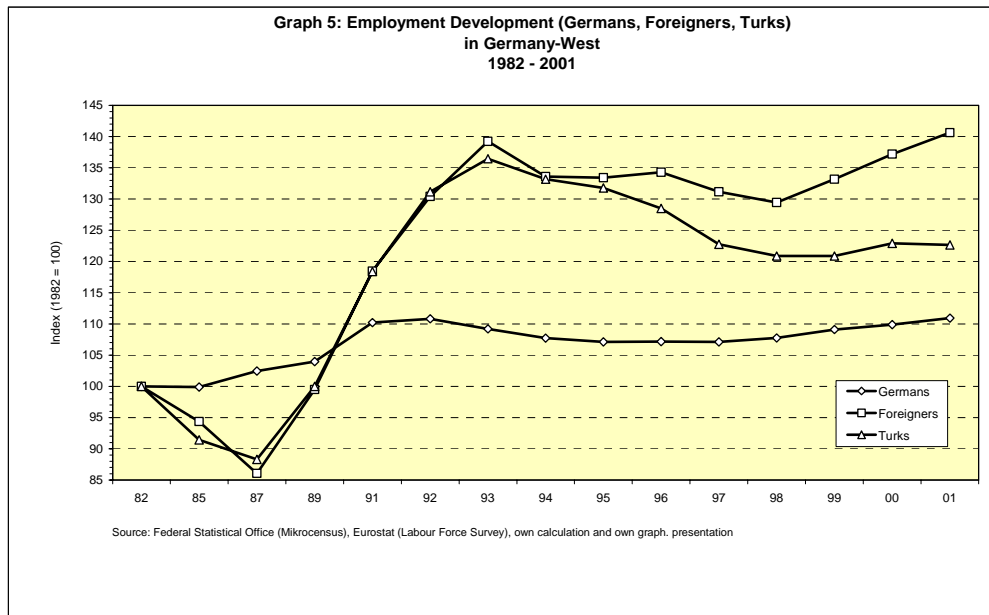
employment rate¹⁷ has increased by 4% since 1982 for German residents, despite a high net inflow of German immigrants, mainly from the area of the former Soviet Union. As for foreign residents, and Turkish nationals in particular, figures have decreased dramatically by 10% or 12% respectively. As a result less than half of all Turks between 15 and 64 years of age (working age) are currently employed or self-employed (cf. graph 4). But for Yugoslavs, the reduction of the employment rate was even higher than for Turks (see also footnote 5).¹⁸

It has again to be emphasised, however, that the total number of employed persons has actually increased for all ethnic groups mentioned here, the figures for 2001 considerably exceeding those of two decades ago: As for Germans, the number has risen by 2.7 million (or 10%) to a total of 27.3 million. As for foreigners, numbers have risen by approx. 900,000 (40%) to a total of approx. 3.0 million. As for Turkish nationals, their number has risen by approx. 150,000 (or 23%) to a total of approx. 790,000 (cf. graph 5). But general economic development and changes in the structure of labour demand have precluded that employment opportunities have kept pace with the number of persons seeking employment.



¹⁷ The employment rate represents the share of employed persons (including self-employed persons) in all persons between 15 and 64 years of age (working age population).

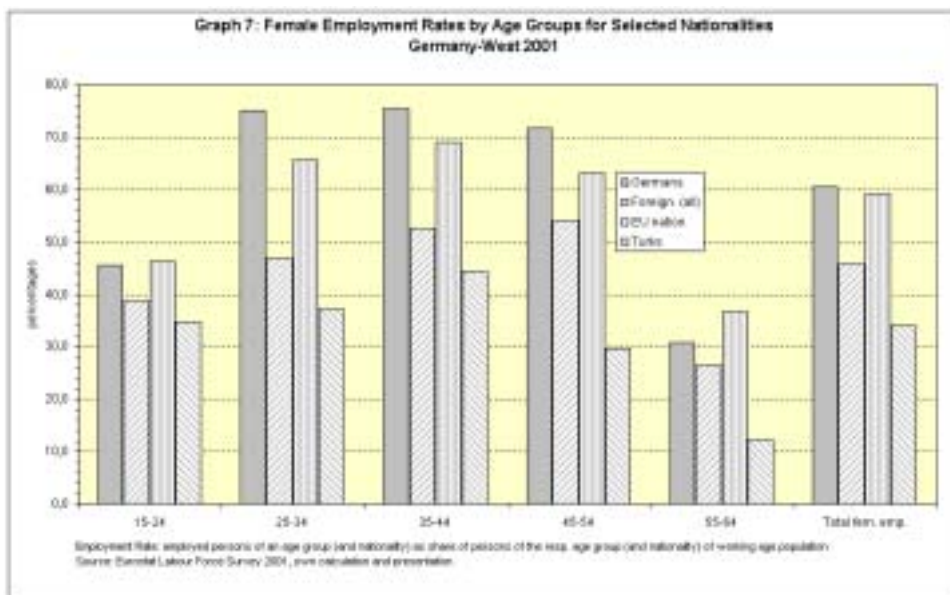
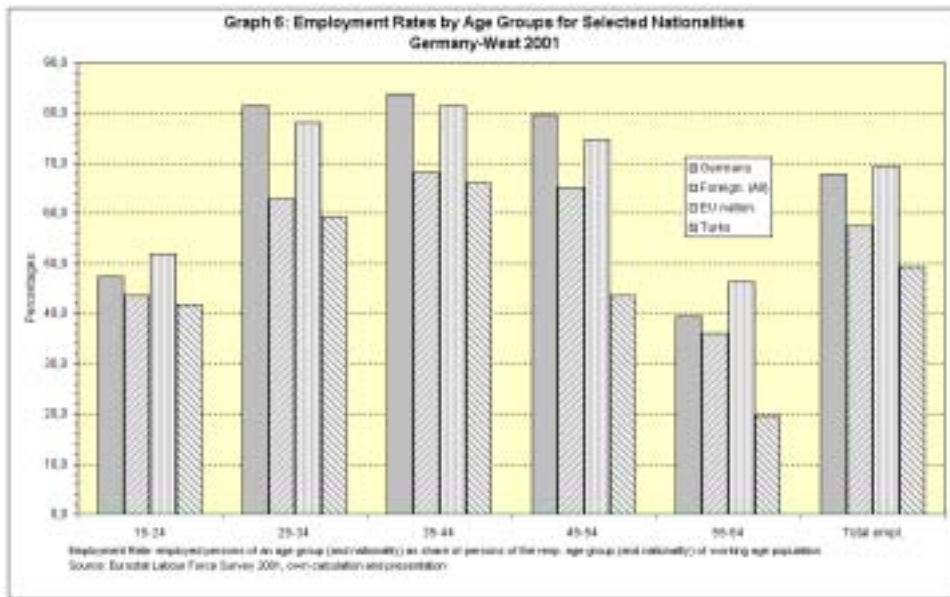
¹⁸ The differences in the labour market between Germans and foreigners are also reflected in the different incomes of the German and the foreign households. On average the income of foreign households is lower than the income of German households. In 1999 38% of foreign – in contrast to only 10% of German – families (couple with children) have less than 3000 DM at their disposal. Nearly 45% of German family households, however, have more than 5000 DM at their disposal, whereas this only applies to 17% of foreign family households. One can see a similar picture considering the income of married couples without children. German married couples are relatively more prosperous than foreign married couples (cf. Statistisches Bundesamt ■ 2001a, S. 46f.).



Another question is to what extent these general observations concern e.g. different age groups or men and women. Are younger foreigners, because of their qualification deficiencies, in a worse general employment situation than foreigners in general? And what about older workers in the context of the labour market trends? And what are the opportunities of women?

Taking the latest available figures (here Eurostat labour force survey of 2001), the following can be stated (cf. graph 6 and 7):

- in the youngest age group (15-24 years of age), the employment rate for Turks is above average (partly may be because of participating in special labour market programmes like JUMP, see Dietrich ■ 2001, Dietrich/Rothe ■ 2001);
- in the middle age group (35-44), the employment rate for Turks is also above average;
- in both groups of 45-54 and 55-64 years of age, the employment for Turks is only half of the employment rate for Germans: in the oldest age group, only 20% of the Turkish working age population (Germans: almost 40%) are in employment;
- the situation for EU nationals is generally and in all age groups better than for Germans or at least similarly favourable;
- regarding foreign females, the present situation is much less favourable than for foreign employment as a whole; the respective employment rates for Turkish women are in all age groups less than for total employment; in the age group of 55-64, only little more than 10% of the Turkish female working age population have a job (German women 30%);

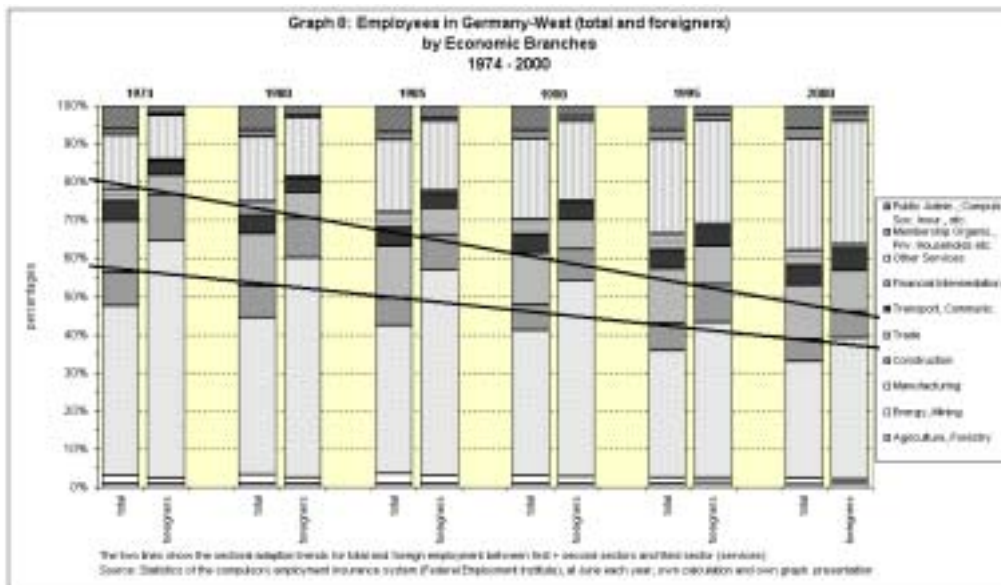


2.2.3.4. Structural changes of employment and effects on the professional career

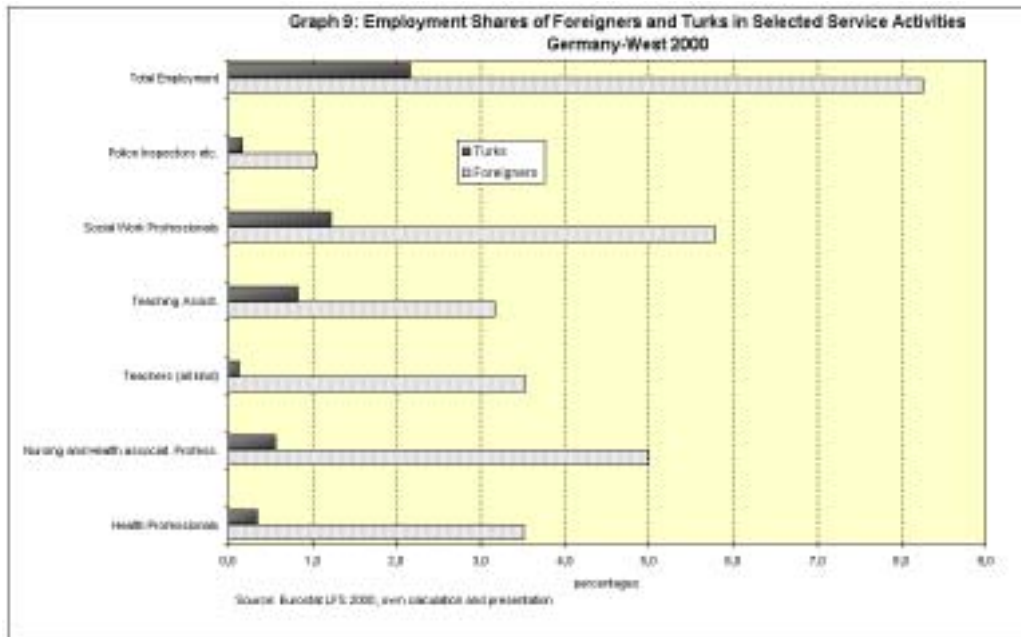
Structural economic changes have affected foreign employees much more severely than German employees. Employment in manufacturing has been reduced considerably. In the service industry, however, employment has increased for both German and foreign employees. But even here important differences between German and foreign employees remain.

Right from the beginning of the recruitment programmes for so-called "guest workers", the majority of foreign labour has been employed in manufacturing (mining, industrial production, construction), most of their jobs being unskilled and involving unfavourable working conditions. Technological progress and increased competition have led to structural economic changes and severe job losses in exactly those sectors where foreign labour had traditionally found employment. Consequently, these structural changes have affected foreign workers much more

severely than Germans. In 1974, almost 80% of all foreign workers (compared to approx. 56% of all employees) were working in the first and second sector. In 1998, respective figures had decreased to 53% (or 40% of all employees). Thus the original margin between foreigners and all employees has been narrowing considerably. At the same time, respective figures for employment in the service industry have greatly increased (compare the sectoral adaptation trend lines in graph 8). At a first glance, this could be interpreted positively as a normalisation concerning foreign employment.



In fact, a more detailed analysis of developments in employment, which distinguishes between several branches of the service sector, reveals that traditional differences (similar to those in manufacturing) between foreign and German employees have up to now been sustained in the service sector, too. Whereas German employees have mostly found employment in high-quality jobs, foreign employees tend to have unskilled jobs with unfavourable working conditions (e.g. personal services such as laundry and cleaning). Compared with the share of foreign and Turkish employment in total service related employment, the respective shares in the employment of for example police officers, social workers, teaching and health related jobs are very low (see graph 9). That could be interpreted as a de-facto discrimination in the labour market, which depends on the one hand again on missing qualification, but on the other hand also on a prejudiced recruitment behaviour mainly in the public sector.

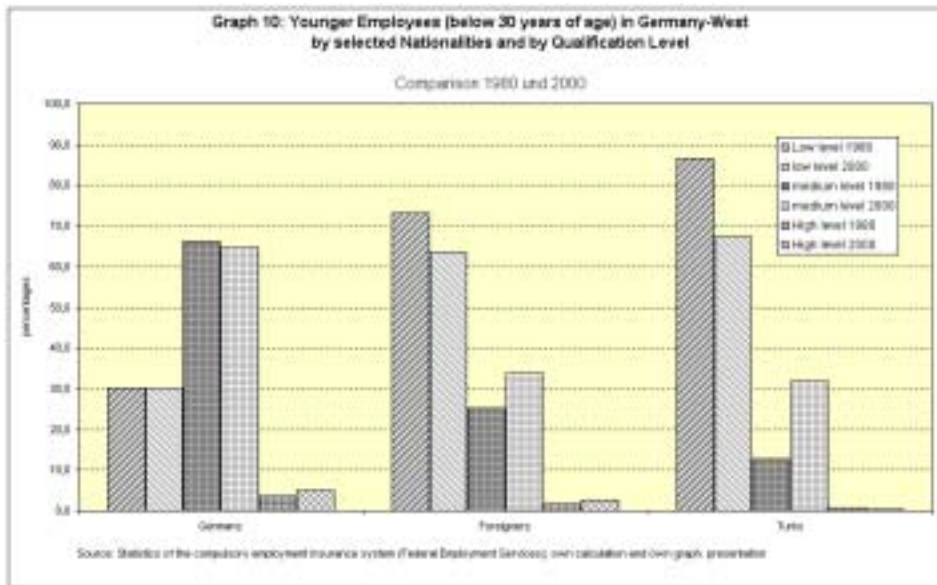


2.2.3.5. Qualification level of foreign workers

The main factor underlying these persistent disadvantages is to be found in insufficient qualification levels of foreign labour. The percentage of labour with low qualification levels is still more than twice as high among foreigners than among German labour. Conversely, the percentage of foreign labour with intermediate qualifications levels is just half that of German employees. Even for younger employees, the situation remains basically unchanged.

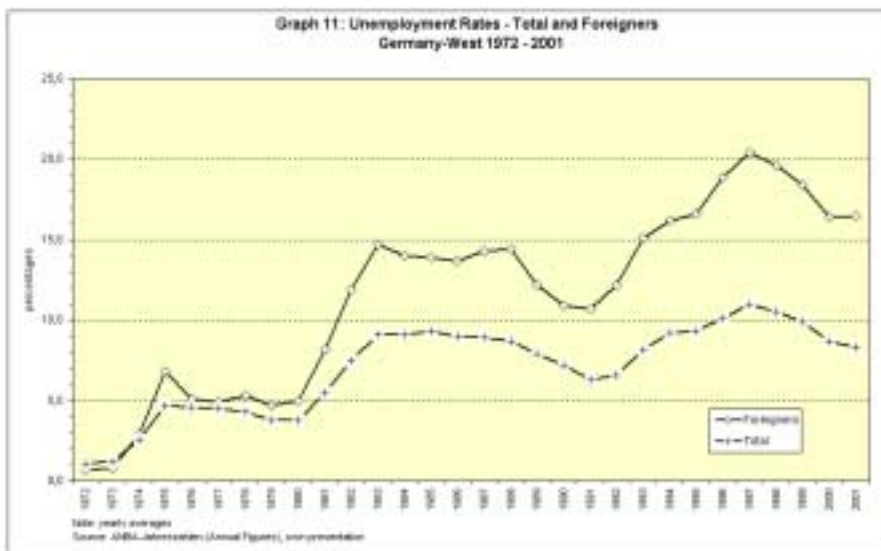
On the one hand, the percentage of foreign and particularly Turkish employees with low qualification levels has been decreasing over the last twenty years; on the other hand, with 60% (over 70% for Turkish employees), respective figures are still more than twice as high than those for German employees. Conversely, the percentage of foreigners with medium qualification levels is just half that of German employees. For Turkish employees, respective figures are even worse.

If one follows the development of qualification levels for younger employees (between 15 and 30 years of age) between 1980 and 2000, it becomes obvious (cf. graph 10) that despite some improvements for foreign and Turkish workers, extreme discrepancies prevail between German and foreign (especially Turkish) labour. It is not only the high share of unqualified jobs, but also the still very low percentage of highly qualified workers in this age group (Turks with only 0.5%, Germans with 5.0%), which must be noticed.



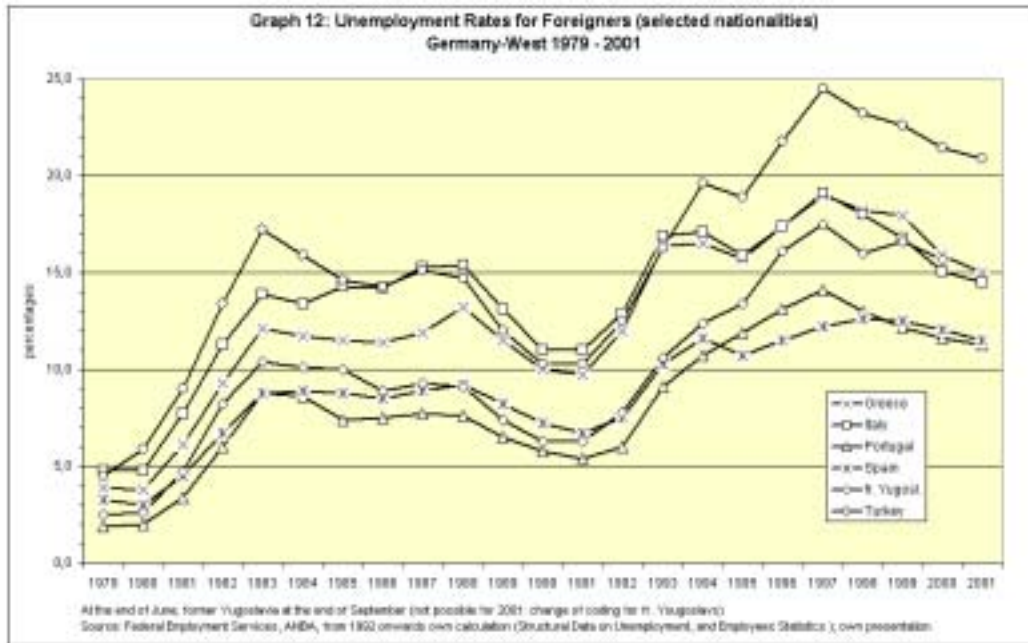
2.2.3.6. Unemployment of Germans and foreigners

Due to structural economic changes entailing an increased demand for highly qualified employees, unemployment among foreigners has risen disproportionately over the last years. The unemployment rate for foreigners is twice as high compared to that of all employees. And once again it is Turkish employees who have been affected most severely by this development.



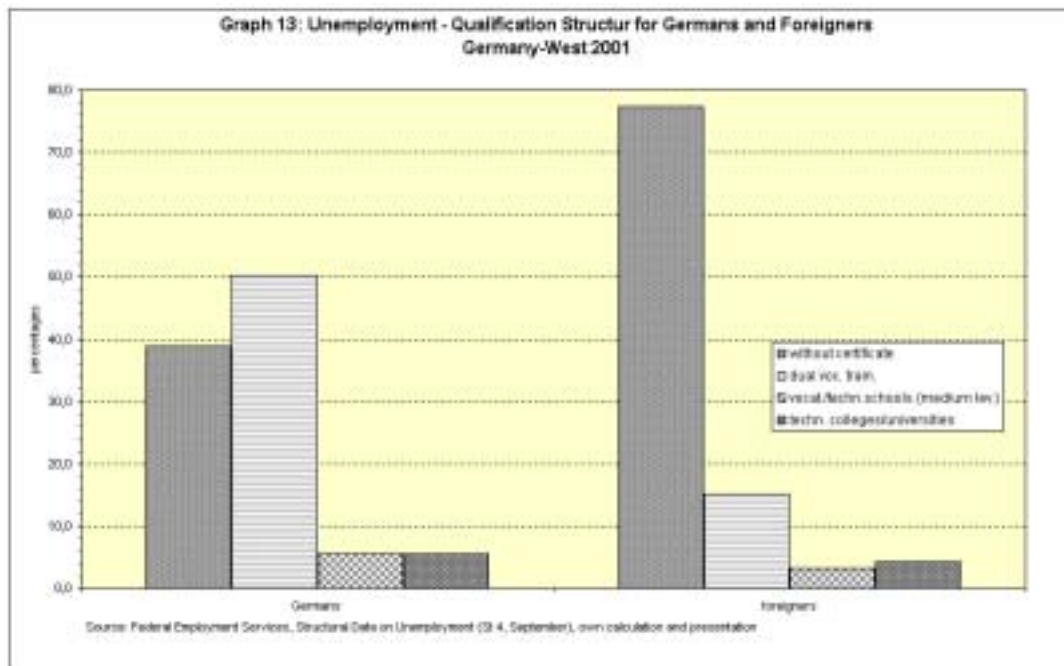
Since 1980, the development of unemployment has been different among foreign and German labour. The gap between unemployment rates for Germans and foreigners respectively has generally been widening – with some minor variations due to economic cycles (cf. graph 11). The unemployment rate for foreigners is currently twice that of the total rate. Due to the structural economic changes mentioned above, the ensuing increased demand for highly qualified employees, and the generally insufficient qualification levels of foreign labour, the latter have been increasingly side-tracked. At present (June 2002), more than 17% of foreign workers are

unemployed. In some regional labour markets, respective figures are as high as 40%. All in all, the majority of these unemployed persons lack adequate qualifications. This, of course, is also true for all unemployed persons (unemployment for all unskilled persons equalled in Western Germany 19.4% in 2000, compared to 5.7% for persons that have successfully completed vocational training, or 2.6% for graduates of universities and of polytechnics; cf. Reinberg ■ 1999, Reinberg/Hummel ■ 2002), but foreign employees have been affected even more severely. Taking into consideration the structural changes described above, the current situation is very serious indeed.



If one compares different nationalities, unemployment is highest among Turkish labour, with about 21% in 2001. In addition, the gap between Turks and other foreign groups has been widening considerably since the beginning of the nineties. Unemployment rates for labour from Portugal, Spain amount at present to about 11 or 12% respectively, which is still clearly above the total unemployment rate. Respective rates for Italians and Greeks are about 15% (cf. graph 12).

Looking at the qualification structure of the unemployed there are huge differences to be observed between Germans and foreigners. For Germans, the share of persons without certificates in total German unemployment is at about 40%, whereas the respective share for foreigners is at almost 80% (graph 13). That means in fact that unemployed foreigners have few opportunities to leave unemployment for more permanent employment.

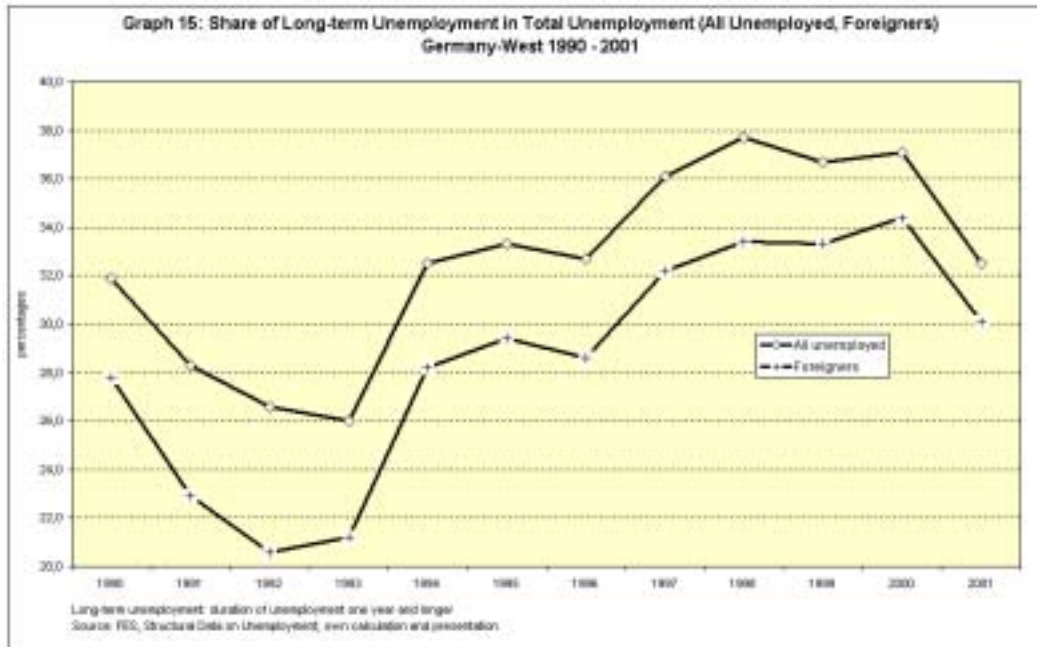


Age structure differences for total unemployment and for long-term unemployment (see graph 14) are also quite substantial between Germans and foreigners or Turks (Turks being included in the category of foreigners, but also listed separately). Concerning total unemployment, the share of persons in the age up to 44 is for Turks with 68% by about 10% higher than for Germans. Regarding long-term unemployment, the respective share is for Turks (46%) by 12% above that of Germans.

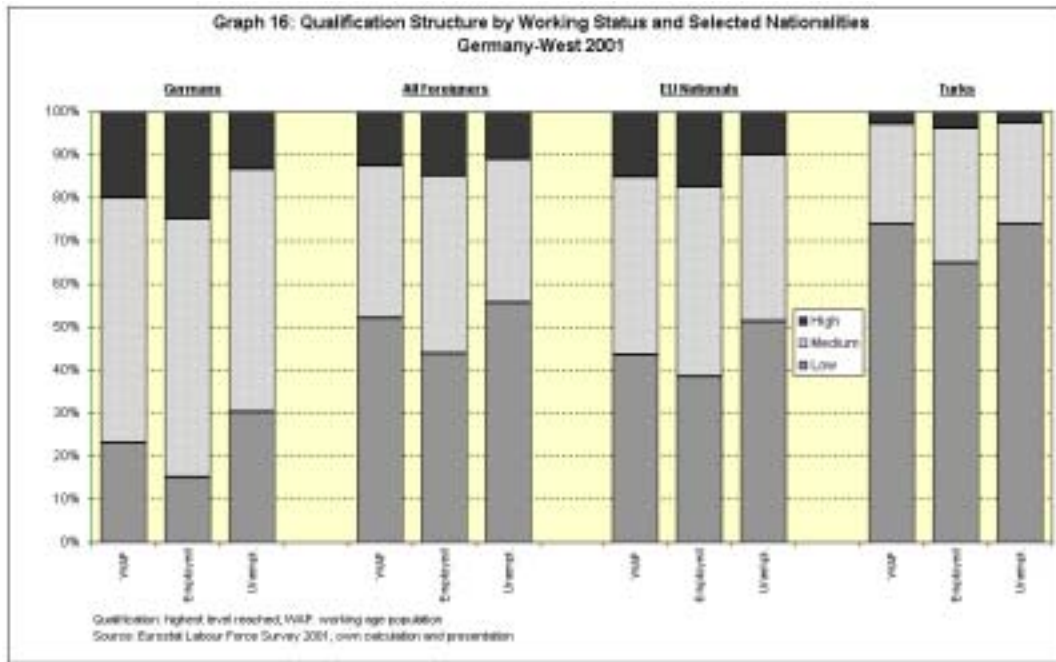


The percentage of long-term unemployment in total unemployment for foreigners and especially for Turks is always slightly lower than for Germans. Foreigners have a somewhat faster turn-over regarding inflow and outflow into and out of

unemployment within the economic cycles. Because of the low qualification level in general and because of the fact that they are to a large extent employed in more sensitive jobs with respect to economic cycles, they are usually the first to be fired, but also – till now - often the first to be re-hired.



At the end of having discussed the overall unemployment situation and development and the differences between Germans and foreigners, a final picture shall be given, looking at a comparison of present qualification structures of working age population, employment and unemployment for Germans and foreigners. This final comparison between nationalities and working status reflects the general pattern of qualification structure differences between nationalities on the one hand, and on the other hand the fact that lower qualified people are relatively more often sorted out of the employment process: in all cases the share of better qualified persons is higher in employment than in unemployment. But for Turks, the much higher percentage of low qualified people deteriorates future chances in the labour market.

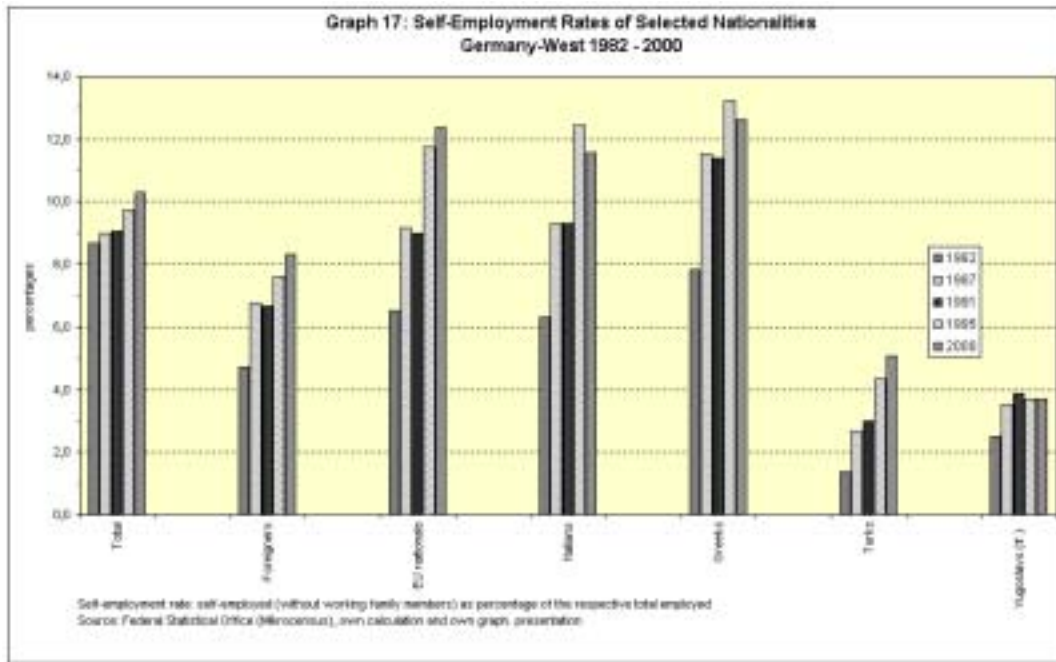


2.2.3.7. Self-employment¹⁹

The number of self-employed persons among foreigners has risen considerably over the last 15 years. Nevertheless, the self-employment rate for this group is still significantly lower than the total rate. Should this increase in self-employment be considered as a new economic opportunity for foreign labour, or rather as a risky response to deteriorating chances in the labour market?

The number of self-employed foreigners has more than doubled since 1982, and almost risen five-fold for Turks; the initial figures, however, were extremely low. Therefore, part of this development is due to the fact that these groups have had a lot to catch up on, particularly because many foreigners had, until a few years ago, not been legally entitled to start their own business.

¹⁹ Self-employment: self-employed people, persons working on own account, not employed by anyone else.



In general, the increase in self-employment is a positive development, as new businesses create jobs not only for the owner, but often also for further persons (family members as well as other persons). Additionally, the newly set up businesses are to be found in several different economic sectors, as studies e.g. by the Centre for Studies on Turkey (Essen) confirm. Thus these businesses make an important contribution to economic growth. However, one should not overlook the fact that the percentage of businesses in catering and retail (esp. small greengrocers) is disproportionately high. It can therefore be assumed that in many cases new businesses have been set up primarily in order to avoid unemployment, which can be quite risky in view of lacking capital or insufficient qualification necessary to ascertain lasting economic success. So self-employed persons possibly run the risk of losing all their savings. Moreover, even though new jobs are being created, including employment opportunities for family members, these persons, especially children of the owners, might have the risk to lose possibilities in attaining any formal vocational qualification. In effect, these young people are given the opportunity to make a living for a limited period of time, but they have no possibility to improve their long-term chances in the general labour market.

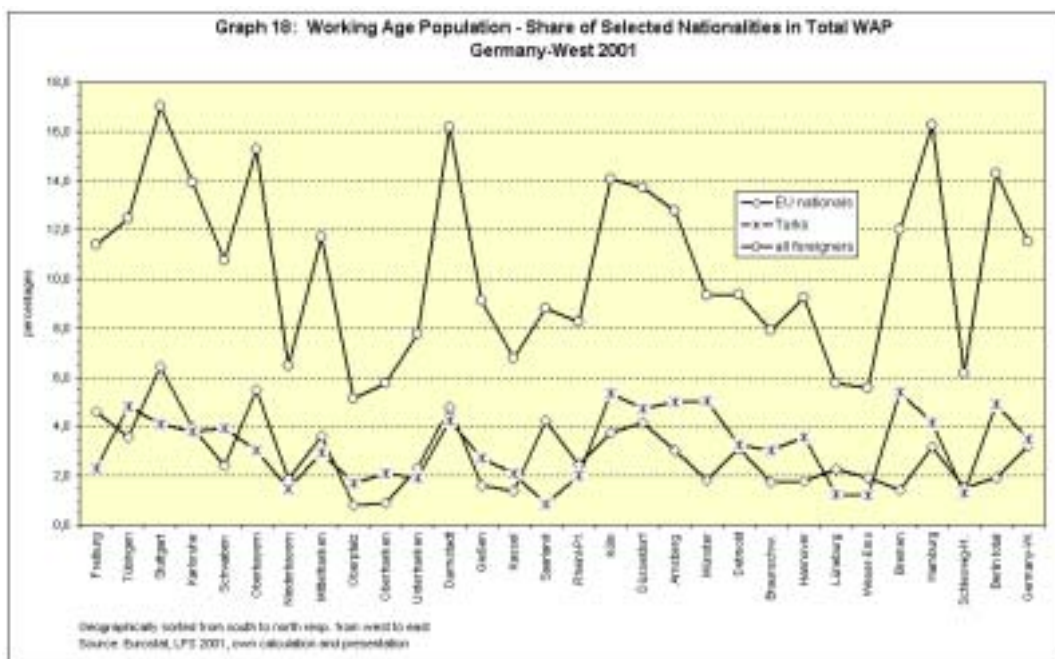
Furthermore, one has to keep in mind that even if self-employment rates²⁰ for foreigners, especially Turks, have increased considerably, they are still significantly lower than respective figures for all self-employed persons (cf. graph 17). Consequently, there is still scope for further development. This potential, however, will only be realised if the necessary pre-conditions are fulfilled. Good qualifications are indispensable in order to achieve lasting success as a self-employed businessman. But, as mentioned above repeatedly, one major obstacle remains: foreign workers, especially Turks, still lack qualification in a major way, and even young people, who are still at the beginning of their careers, have not yet managed to close this gap.

²⁰ Self-employment rate: self-employed (here: without working family members) as percentage of the respective total employed

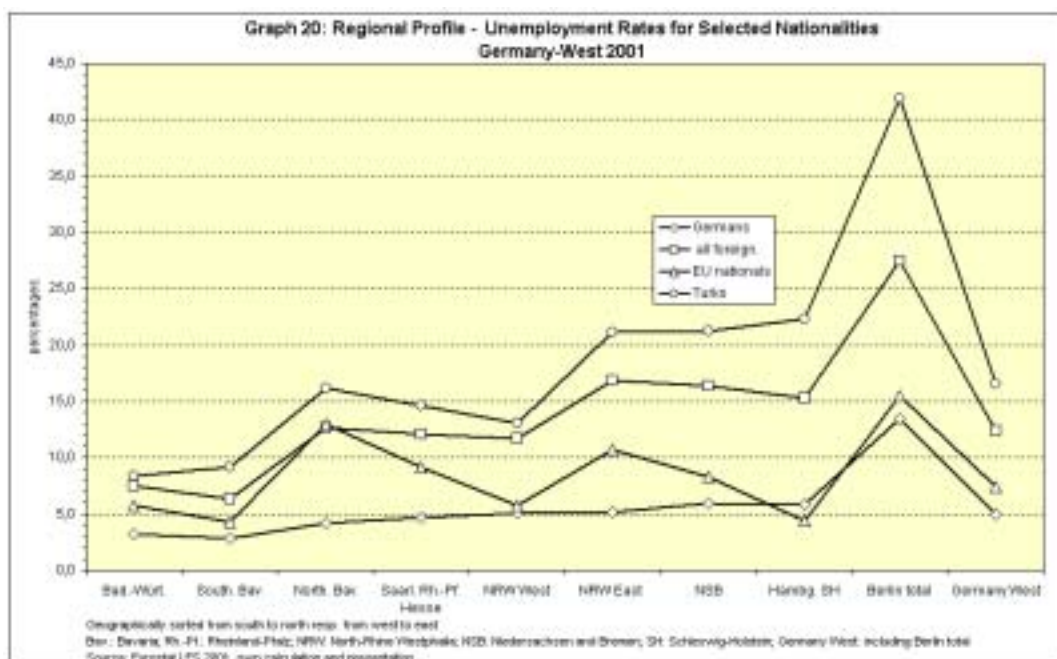
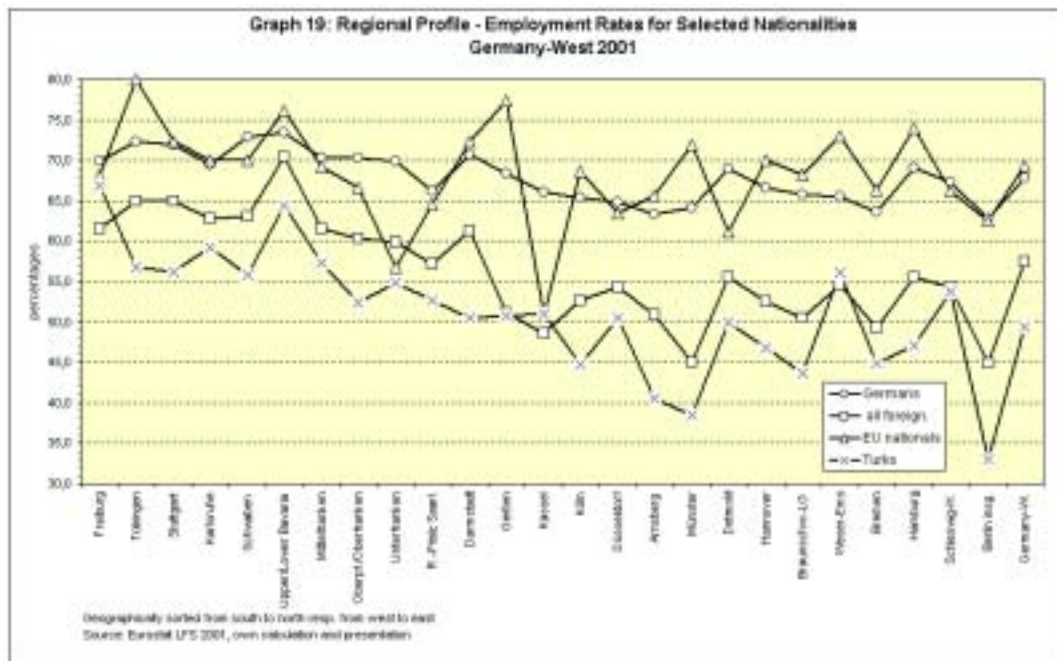
2.2.4. Regional differentiation – some hints on the present situation

2.2.4.1. Regional profiles of total employment and unemployment

Economic and labour market condition are very unequal not only between East and West Germany, but also in Western Germany alone (see the rough figures given above in section 2.1). There are huge differences concerning income level, GDP growth, economic and employment structure, and the labour market performance as a whole. Labour force participation, employment and unemployment rates vary from state to state, and from region to region. Generally speaking, one can say that the more to the South the better the economic and labour market situation. It can be expected that the situation of foreigners will follow this general pattern. Therefore, some short hints will be given regarding the regional differentiation for foreigners.



The following analysis of regional differentiation is limited on regions in West Germany, as 97% of all foreign residents live and work in West Germany. Shares of the foreign population in the total population vary very strongly. Taking the working age population, and looking at the NUTS-2-level (see graph 18), we can see the highest percentage differences (foreign working age population to total wap) between the areas of Stuttgart, Darmstadt (which also comprises Frankfurt/Main), the more western regions of North-Rhine-Westphalia and the cities of Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin on the one hand, and the north-east regions of Bavaria and almost the whole North of Germany and the other.



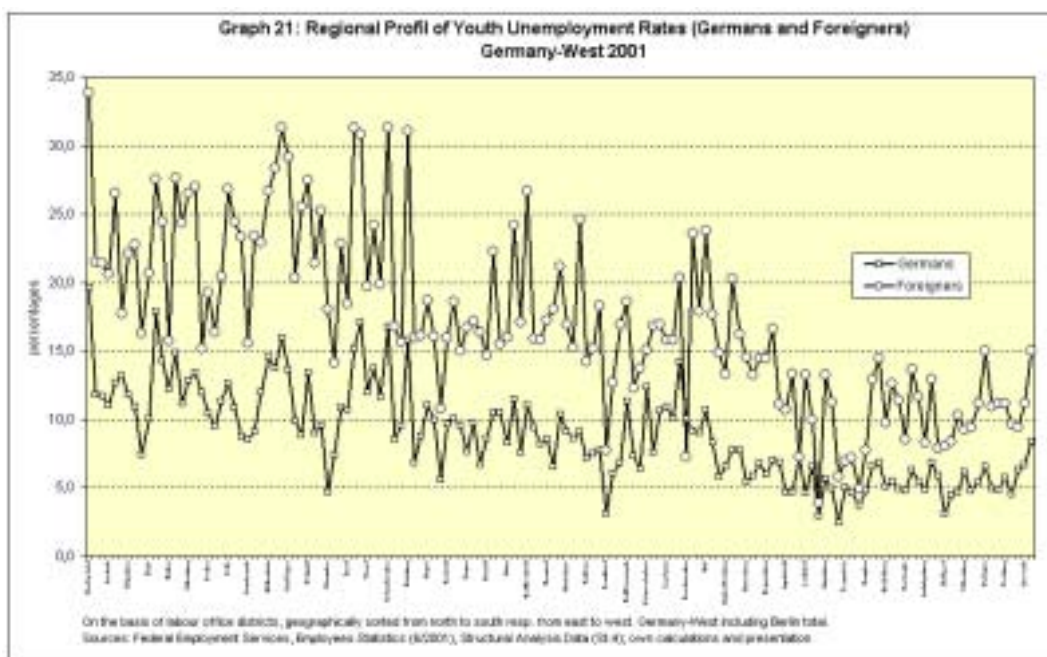
Is there a relationship between regional concentration and labour market situation of foreigners? A comparison between graph 18 and the graphs 19 and 20 (regional profiles of employment and unemployment rates) leads to the following conclusions:

- The trends follow obviously the general pattern, that means that from South to North the employment rates decline for all nationalities, and the unemployment rates increase.
- Regarding levels, employment and unemployment rates for EU nationals are very similar to the ones for Germans. Huge differences must be stated for Turks: the decline of the employment rate and the rise of the unemployment rate from South to North is much greater than for Germans and for EU nationals.

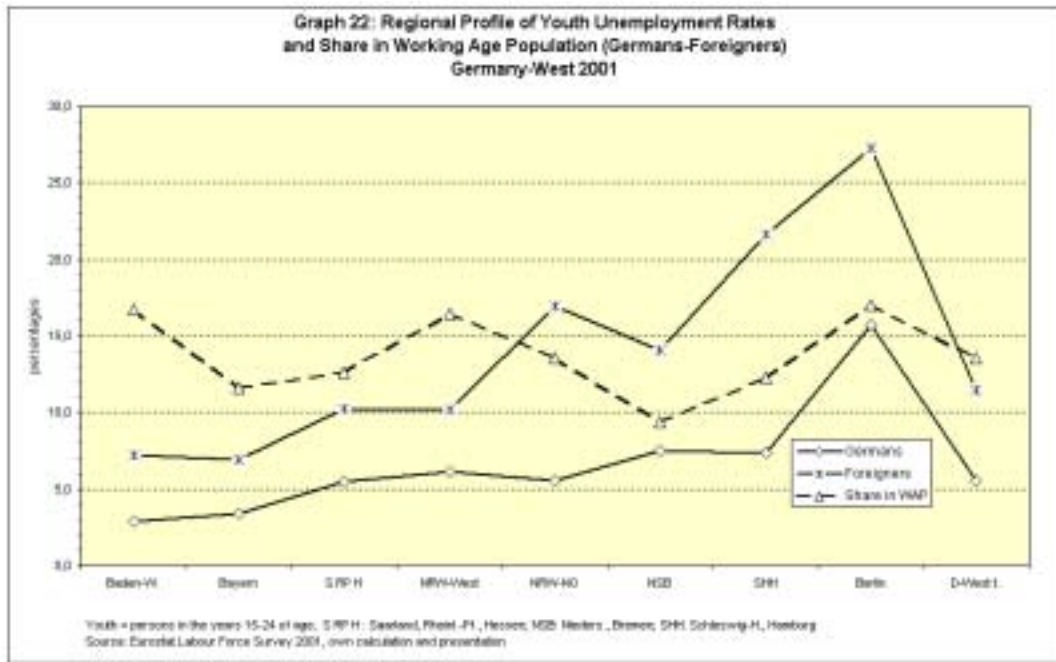
- In regions with a high population concentration, the employment rate is often much lower than in areas with low population concentration. The same can be reversely observed regarding unemployment rates.

2.2.4.2. Regional profile of youth unemployment

As shown above, younger foreigners still suffer from insufficient integration into the educational system and from missing qualifications. Looking again at the regional situation, one can see that all over the regions young foreigners are hit by higher unemployment than German young people. West Germany's overall youth unemployment rate in 2001 was 8.4% for Germans, but 15% for all foreigners and 17.2% for Turks. The regional profile regarding level and differences of unemployment rates (between foreigners and Germans) follows again the direction as for total unemployment (graphs 21 and 22):



- There is a clear north to south trend, the more to the south, the lower the unemployment rates, for Germans and for foreigners.
- In regions with an high share of foreigners in the working age population, one can find high and relatively low unemployment rates: in Baden-Württemberg (with the highest share of youngsters in working age population), the youth unemployment rate for foreigners as for Germans is the lowest in West Germany.
- In the north of Germany, with low working age population shares, the unemployment rates for young foreigners are more as double as high than in the south.



2.3. Future trends in the labour market: supply and demand side

There are clear indications as to how employment will develop in future: new jobs will be created in the service sector, first and foremost, and applicants for these vacancies will require good qualifications. The majority of foreign workers, however, lacks the necessary qualifications and will thus not be able to compete successfully for these new jobs. It is therefore essential, firstly, to improve qualification levels of foreigners that have already entered the job market. In addition, it is also essential that today's pupils will leave the education system with the necessary qualifications.

The results of studies focussing on future employment trends all point in the same direction. There will be further job cuts in manufacturing, whereas more jobs will be created in the service industry. While about 62% of all employees worked in the service sector in 1995, this percentage will rise up to about 69% in 2010, according to the latest ■ projections by the Institute for Labour Research (IAB). So-called secondary services, on the other hand, such as consulting, management, research and development (in addition to employment in catering and health care, where demand for labour is already high) will further gain in importance. This development calls for highly-qualified labour. The demand for un- or semi-skilled labour, on the other hand, will continue to decrease. On the other side the demand for university, polytechnic and college graduates will increase considerably (cf. among others, Dostal/Reinberg ■ 1999, Schnur ■ 1999, Weidig ■ 1999).

It would be wrong to jump to conclusions about foreign labour in general. The main concern, however, is that some ethnic groups still manifest major deficits concerning their overall qualifications. In view of future developments in employment, these deficits will entail continuing high levels of unemployment, or, in the worst case,

even rising unemployment levels. Many foreign pupils who attend school at present are unlikely to achieve the same qualification levels as German pupils, thus making it difficult for the former group to find places in job training or employment. The so-called PISA study (Baumert ■ 2001 and ■ 2002), which has been published recently, has once again confirmed these conclusions by pointing out that children of migrants face major difficulties in education.

It is true, all these measures will not solve the fundamental problem, i.e. the general trend that the number of job seekers will continue to exceed the number of job vacancies. But the measures will contribute to improving labour market chances, and prevent a tendency towards whole groups within the population being excluded from the labour market and being pushed to the fringes of society. It is obvious that ensuing social conflicts would eventually lead to higher expenditures than those needed for investment in education and other areas.

3. Measures aimed at qualification for young people with a migrant background

(Gisela Will)

As can be seen from the previous sections, the comparably worse position of foreign employees in the labour market results to a large extent from the differing abilities and preconditions of human capital. This means that a disadvantageous situation for foreign employees does not primarily result from discrimination, but from a low level of education and qualification. Irrespective of the causes of the differing degrees of success in the education system, it must be stated, however, that particular attention must be paid to the vocational training and qualification of young people with a migrant background. This is especially the case because, as already mentioned, proportionally increasing numbers of foreign young people or young people with a migrant background will flood into the realm of vocational training and onto the labour market. The transition from school to the workplace is particularly important with respect to the individual's educational and vocational biography, not only because the danger of unemployment is relatively high at this juncture, but also because professional qualifications often point the way for the later course of employment.

One must differentiate two particularly critical points here: on the one hand, the transition from school to vocational training (also referred to as "threshold I") and, on the other hand, the transition from vocational training to the later profession ("threshold II"). At these points, the danger of becoming unemployed is especially high for young people. In addition to the general risk of youth unemployment, which all young people face, one also speaks of endangered groups who are affected by a higher risk of unemployment. The disadvantage here exists "when a person's chances of finding work are significantly reduced as a consequence of personal characteristics, or if this person does, in fact, find work, but only usually only in menial employment (with an unsecured employment status, a very high degree of flexibility, poor level of payment, etc.)" (Nicaise/Bollens ■ 2000, 13; own translation).

Amongst the groups particularly affected by unemployment are (cf. Schmidt ■ 2001, 45ff.):

- Young people without, or with only poor school-leaving qualifications
- Young people without vocational training
- Young females
- Disabled or ill young people
- Socially disadvantaged young people
- Young people who are disadvantaged by the market conditions (for example, young people from structurally weak areas)
- Young foreigners
- Young ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*)

A culmination of various disadvantageous characteristics leads to a worsening of the problems in the labour market. Such a culmination of risks is often also found in the case of young migrants as they continue to have lower school-leaving qualifications than young Germans, for example. Young foreign women are also considered a particular problem group

as they are disadvantaged not only on the grounds of their nationality, but also because of their gender (cf. Bendit/Keimeleder/Werner ■ 2000).

In order to alleviate the transition for disadvantaged young people into the world of work, there are a great number of measures aimed at offering qualification. The majority are not specially conceived for young foreigners or migrants, but are directed at all disadvantaged young people. Nonetheless, these measures are of great importance for the integration of young people with a migrant background into the world of work: on the one hand, from a quantitative perspective, they reach a higher number of young foreigners than special qualification offers do – for example, in 1999, some 15,100 young foreigners took part in general preparatory courses for employment organised by the Federal Employment Office (*Bundesanstalt für Arbeit*), whilst the courses supported by the BMA with the aim of improving the integration opportunities for young foreigners were only completed by a total of 930 young foreigners up to 1999 (cf. Bundesministerium des Inneren ■ 2000, 32). On the other hand, by not offering special support, the intention is to avoid stigmatisation – that is, the idea that all young foreigners need special help.²¹

3.1. General measures offered at the transition between school – training – employment

The differing measures against youth unemployment have, in the meantime, grown to a considerable variety so that it is neither possible nor sensible to offer a complete survey. However, the most important measures will be presented on the basis of a structure according to their legal basis.²²

3.1.1. Measures on the basis of school law

From 1975 onwards, school-based vocational preparation measures were introduced for young people who had not been able to obtain an apprenticeship. On the one hand, mention must be made here of the Pre-vocational Year (*Berufsvorbereitungsjahr*), a year-long preparatory course for employment: the aim of this measure is that young people gain the level of achievement required for vocational training. In the case of this preparatory year, this should primarily be achieved by school education where the *Hauptschule* (secondary modern school) qualification can be obtained later than is usual, for example, or deficits can be made up for (for example, by improving the pupil's German skills). Another measure in which job-related qualifications are in the foreground is the Basic Vocational Training Year (*Berufsgrundbildungsjahr*). Here qualifications can be obtained in specific areas (for example, metalwork, housekeeping). Successful completion of this year-long basic vocational training course can result in this period being counted towards vocational training in the dual system.

As the following table shows, foreign pupils are over-represented in school-based preparatory measures for employment. Whilst only 3.8% of all German vocational school pupils attended the year-long Pre-vocational Year (*Berufsvorbereitungsjahr*) or the Basic Vocational Training Year (*Berufsgrundbildungsjahr*) in the year 2000, the figure for foreign

²¹ It should be noted here that the term "disadvantaged" is hotly debated (cf., for example, Heid ■ 1996, 45ff.) and participation in educational measures for disadvantaged young people can also have a stigmatising effect.

²² As a limiting factor, it must be mentioned that numerous measures cannot be clearly ascribed to certain legal bases due to the fact that they are mixed forms.

vocational school pupils was 9.6%. In previous years, too, it was foreign pupils who attended these preparatory courses for employment significantly more frequently, whilst German pupils were more strongly represented in other vocational schools (above all, in vocational schools within the framework of the dual system, as well as at the *Berufsoberschule* (vocational secondary school) and the *Fachoberschule* (college of further education)).

Table 1: Participation of foreign pupils in the Pre-vocational Year and in the Basic Vocational Training Year 1999 and 2000

School type	1999				2000			
	German pupils	in%	Foreign pupils	in%	German pupils	in%	Foreign pupils	in%
Vocational Schools	2,442,298	100	214,152	100	2,477,009	100	204,828	100
Of which								
Pre-vocational Year/ Basic Vocational Training Year	89,280	3.7	19,003	8.9	94,455	3.8	19,568	9.6

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office), 2001

The proportions of participation show that school-based preparatory measures for employment play a quantitatively significant role for foreign pupils. Clearly directed support of young people who are not yet ready for vocational training by means of a preparatory year is to be principally evaluated positively, too. It is problematic, however, that the participants in such preparatory years bring with them differing individual prerequisites and interests, and thus attention can only be paid in part to specific problematic situations such as insufficient German skills, for example (cf., for example, Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung ■ 1997, 30f.).

3.1.2. Measures according to SGB VIII (Code of Social Law) (Sozialgesetzbuch)

On the basis of the SGB VIII also called law for children and youth assistance (§ *Kinder- und Jugendhilfegesetz (KJHG)*), measures are also offered to facilitate the professional integration of disadvantaged young people as, according to §1 KJHG, section 3, the youth welfare services should "support young people in their individual and social development and contribute to avoiding or reducing disadvantages" (Bundesministerium für Familien, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend ■ 1999, 40; own translation). Since a holistic approach to youth welfare is pursued in youth-related social work, however, measures are not only offered to help young people into work (preparatory measures for employment particularly in the form of youth workshops, professional orientation, etc.), but also in the form of accommodation supervised by social education workers for the term of the vocational training, for example. Preventative measures occupy a further important area, such as school-based social work and advice centres at special needs and secondary modern schools, which, in part, offer additional educational opportunities. In addition, according to the KJHG, qualification and employment measures are also implemented. These are aimed at young adults who, without additional help, have no other chance of obtaining vocational qualifications in the dual system or permanent employment on the job market; the aim here is to integrate these young people into the first labour market.

In sum, it can be stated that the measures of the youth welfare services differ from those of the employment administration, for example, above all through their relevance to the target group and their orientation towards life skills (cf., for example, Institut für berufliche Bildung, Arbeitsmarkt- und Sozialpolitik ■ 1994, 46).

We are not able to offer statistics on the involvement of young foreigners in the measures of the youth welfare services or other accompanying measures according to the SGB VIII. Young people with a migrant background, however, are regarded as a target group and, in part, there are even special courses and offers of assistance for them (c.f. loc. cit., 45).

3.1.3. Measures according to § SGB III (Code of Social Law) (formerly AFG - Employment Promotion Act (Arbeitsförderungsgesetz))

3.1.3.1. Measures preparing for employment/training

Until 1987, special training courses preparing for the employment and social integration of young foreigners (MBSE) were implemented. Between the years 1985 and 1987, almost 10,000 young foreigners took part in these measures (cf. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit ■ 1986, ■ 1987, ■ 1988). However, at the beginning of the course in 1987, it was no longer able to offer these measures. The needs of young foreigners were thus taken into greater consideration within the general measures offered by the Federal Employment Office (cf. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit ■ 1987, 33).

In order to guarantee a better overview of the available measures and so reduce inhibitions on the part of the target group to make use of them, the preparatory courses for employment and vocational training were subsumed in 1996 into a comprehensive range of measures for all target groups under the auspices of career advisors. The following types of measures can be distinguished:

"Tip" course (test, inform and try out) („Tip“ - Lehrgang (testen, informieren, probieren))

In the case of young people who are threatened by losing contact to working life or who have already lost it, the willingness to take up vocational training or employment is to be encouraged and supported, and, at the same time, advice is given about participation in other necessary preparatory measures.

Course of basic training (Grundausbildungslehrgang)

In this measure, young people who are ready for vocational training and who have applied for such a course, but for whom the careers advisory bodies could not find a place, or those who have not yet decided on their future career are to be encouraged in their decision to opt for vocational training. They receive the opportunity to increase their competitiveness and to examine or make their choice of career, respectively.

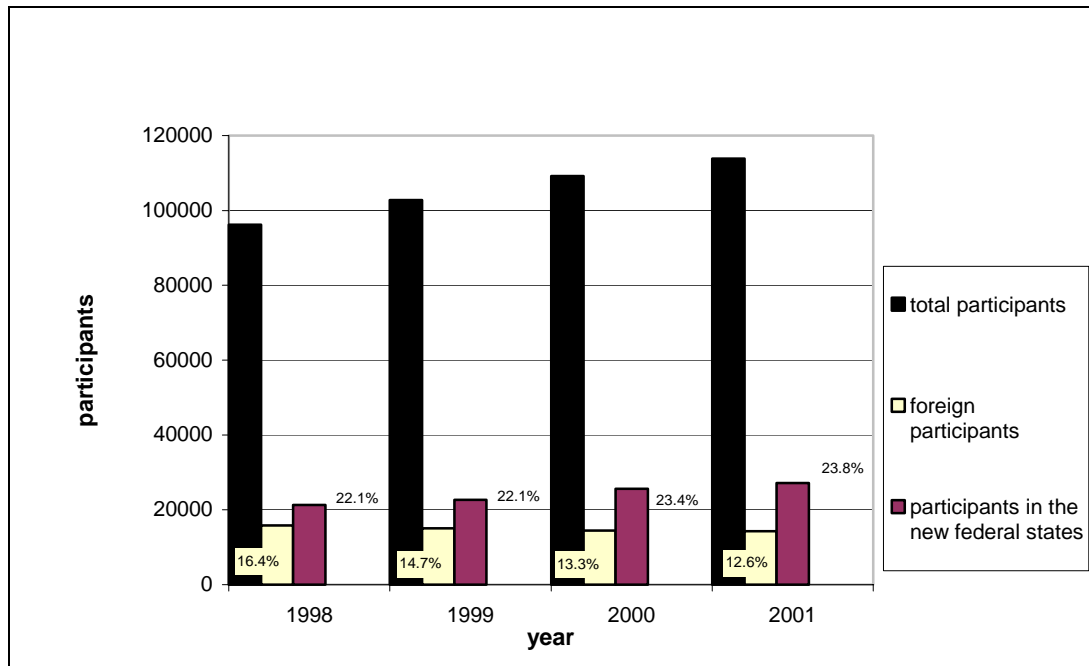
Course to improve professional educational and integration opportunities (Lehrgang zur Verbesserung beruflicher Bildungs- und Eingliederungschancen) (BBE)

The target group of this measure is young people who could not be reached by the measures mentioned above, but who are nonetheless in need of special support. Amongst the participants here are especially those who are socially disadvantaged, ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*), foreigners, young people with serious professional deficits (those who have given up their apprenticeship can be counted among this group, too), semi-skilled and unskilled workers, former convicts/parolees as well as young people who are not yet able to cope with the strain of vocational training or employment as a result of temporary developmental difficulties of a physical or mental nature. By means of intensive support, the participants' personality is to be stabilised. A further emphasis of this measure is placed on improving the educational prerequisites for taking up vocational training. Should an apprenticeship be, in all probability, out of the question, subject-based practical and theoretical basic skills are to be taught. Courses to improve professional educational and

integration opportunities can also be carried out on a part-time basis (less than 20 hours per week) accompanying a part-time job-creation scheme.

In 2000, a total of 14,482 young foreigners participated in professional preparatory courses run by the Federal Employment Office. This constituted a decrease of approximately 600 participants compared with the previous year, although the total number of participants increased (cf. graph 23).

Graph 23: Participation of young foreigners in professional preparatory courses run by the Federal Employment Office (BBE, *tip* and basic training courses) (West and East Germany)



Source: Managerial reports of the Federal Employment Office; own calculations and presentation

An explanation of this decrease could be the fact that, especially in East Germany, the number of young people participating in the professional preparatory course has increased. In the new Federal States, however, the proportion of foreign people is extremely low. Therefore, young migrants can hardly profit from this development. In addition, it is noticeable that the statistics of the Federal Employment Office differentiate only between Germans and Non-Germans. There is no possibility to identify naturalised citizens or ethnic German migrants (*(Spät-)Aussiedler*). We can proceed from the assumption that the proportion of migrants in the professional preparatory courses is considerable higher than the proportion of young foreign people. These difficulties in the statistical recording concern also many other measures, for example, training in external institutions, so that no exact statements can be made about the participation of migrants.

3.1.3.2. Measures relating to professional training

The programme of the Federal Minister of Education and Science (*Bundesminister für Bildung und Wissenschaft*) "to support the professional training of disadvantaged young people", which was introduced in 1980/81, was incorporated into the AFG (§ Employment Promotion Act) in 1988. Provided that other criteria relating to the legal requirements for support are met, this programme is open both to young Germans and foreigners under the

age of 25 who, despite participating in preparatory professional measures, were not able to obtain an apprenticeship place (cf. Filtzinger et al. ■ 1996, 76).

On-the-job training with assistance given during training (Betriebliche Ausbildung mit Ausbildungsbegleitende Hilfen) (abH)

Assistance offered parallel to training, financed by the Federal Employment Office, should be mentioned as a particular and quantitatively important measure of this programme. Young people who have entered into a training contract with a firm are offered such accompanying assistance since there is a danger that the training, without this help, may not be successfully completed for a variety of reasons – for example, because of social difficulties or psycho-sociological problems.

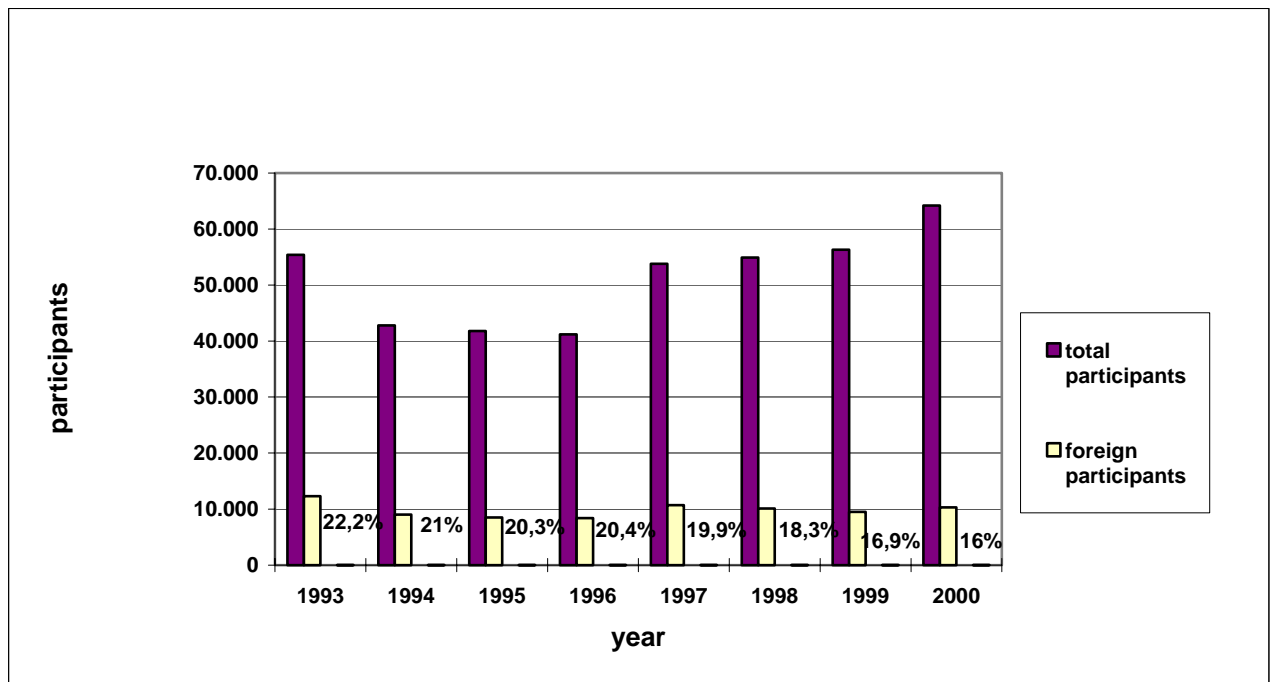
These forms of assistance comprise:

- Subject-based language and theory lessons
- Making up for deficits in general education, above all, in mathematics and technical knowledge
- Support from social education workers

Further contents can also be the improvement of language and writing skills, the practice of the respective technical language, the consolidation of subjects taught in the vocational schools, assistance with homework, but also the promotion of co-operation between young Germans and foreigners as well as the fostering of dialogue between parents, teachers and those involved in offering vocational training on-the-job.

In the year 2000, 10,300 young foreigners made use of the assistance offered during their training. Although this meant an increase in the absolute number of participants, the proportion of young foreigners involved in such measures alongside their training continually decreased since 1996 (cf. graph 24). As mentioned above no details can be given about the participation of ethnic German migrants ((*Spät-*) *Aussiedler*) and naturalised persons.

Graph 24: Participation of young foreigners in assistance measures offered during training (federal states of the former West Germany)



Source: Managerial reports of the Federal Employment Office; own calculations and presentation

Training in extra-company institutions (*Ausbildung in außerbetrieblichen/überbetrieblichen Einrichtungen*)

If training is not available on-the-job, despite such assistance programmes, then it is still possible to complete an apprenticeship in institutions which are outside the workplace. The prerequisites for participating in such programmes are attending a preparatory measure for professional training and the non-existence of an apprenticeship place within a company.

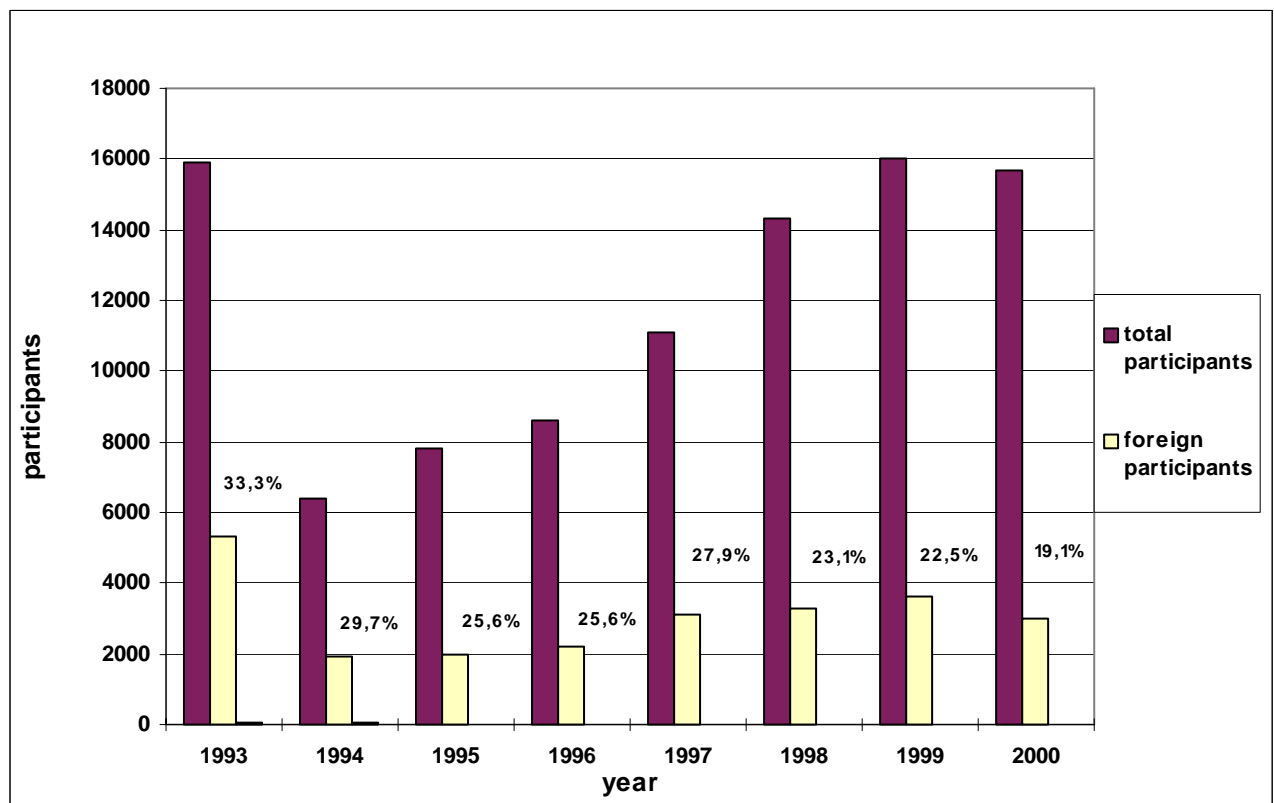
These extra-company institutions offer training in recognised professions, but they additionally give integrated, intensive support as an accompaniment to the training. Along with imparting lacking general education and offering supportive measures to assist in acquiring the subject-related theory and practice, the support offered during training also comprises assistance from social education workers geared to the target group and its needs as well as special language courses.

An important difference is that the training contract in the case of this measure is not made with a company, but with the body responsible for the respective institution (for example, *Berufsbildungswerk* (vocational training centre), *bfz*). However, attempts are made via "exploratory visits" and work experience to maintain a connection to everyday life within the company as not all the actual problems and occurrences can be simulated within an extra-company institution. However, due to lacking co-operation on the part of the respective firms, it can happen that a person completing such an external training cannot obtain a work experience placement (cf. Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung und Forschungsförderung ■ 1996, 30). A further problem is that young people are actually supposed to be trained in professions in which they have a real chance in the labour market. However, this is often not possible as the bodies responsible lack the necessary equipment to

offer training in such professions or the equipment is outdated with respect to the constant modernisation taking place in industry and technology (cf. *ibid.*).

It is desirable to continue training in a company after a year at the most. During the subsequent on-the-job training, measures accompanying this period can be made use of according to necessity. If an apprenticeship place is not found within a company, then training can continue in the extra-company institution until the final examinations. Upon successful completion of such a supported external training programme, continued assistance by social education workers is available for a further six months at the most.

Graph 25: Participation of young foreigners in the vocational training offered in extra-company institutions (federal states of the former West Germany)



Source: Managerial reports of the Federal Employment Office; own calculations and presentation

In 1993, 33.3% of all apprentices in extra-company institutions in the "old" federal states were of foreign origin. This proportion has since dropped to 19.1% (cf. graph 25), however. An even more dramatic decrease in the proportion of participants would become apparent if one included the "new" federal states, that is, those belonging to the former German Democratic Republic as here emphasis is placed on the support for "off-the-job" training. In 2000 19,100 young people took part in this measure in Eastern Germany, whilst in the western part only 15,700 completed their training in such "off-the-job" institutions. One must take into consideration, however, the fact that the proportion of persons with a migrant background (including ethnic German Migrants and naturalised persons) in this measure would be higher, too.

Immediate programme of the Federal Government: "100,000 jobs and training positions" (Sofortprogramm der Bundesregierung: "100.000 Arbeits- und Ausbildungsplätze")

At the end of 1998, an immediate programme was instituted by the Federal Government with the aim of obtaining employment or a training course for 100,000 young people. The financing of this programme was undertaken by the Federal Employment Office, whereby the implementation of the programme was undertaken by other bodies, as is the case with the majority of the other programmes described here (cf. Schmidt ■ 2001, 70). In this programme, which is also known by the name "JUMP" ("young people with a perspective" – *Jugend mit Perspektive*) or "100,000 Jobs", various measures have been incorporated which are aimed at young people under the age of 25 who are without training or have been unemployed for at least three months (cf. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit ■ 1999, 19):

- Support for local and regional projects to utilise and increase offers of on-the-job training
- Training programmes for applicants not yet integrated into other measures
- External training for applicants without placements (up to the completion of their training, if necessary)
- Obtaining the *Hauptschule* (secondary modern school) qualification or a similar qualification by unemployed young people within the framework of measures aimed at preparing for work
- Employment and qualification for young people who are not (yet) suitable for training (AQJ): work experience in a company and preparatory qualifications with bodies responsible for financing such programmes
- Professional qualification either at a later stage than usual or as an additional qualification for unemployed young people with/without professional qualifications
- Subsidised wages for employment subject to social security contributions for unemployed young people (60% of the net wage which can be taken into account in the case of approval for a period of up to 12 months; 40% in cases of up to 24 months)
- *Qualifizierungs-Arbeitsbeschaffungsmaßnahme* (Qualifying job creation schemes): schemes with integrated professional, certified qualification for unemployed young people or those threatened by unemployment
- Assistance offered on-the-job which supports the integration of young people who are unable to establish/secure a position into companies
- Social assistance in obtaining employment or qualification measures for particularly disadvantaged young people.

As the target group of this immediate programme, alongside young people from Eastern Germany, young women were also named, as well as disabled or disadvantaged young people and young foreigners. An analysis of the target groups reached reveals that young people from the "new" federal states, young people who have been unemployed on a long-term basis and disabled young people are over-represented whilst young foreigners are slightly underrepresented (cf. Dietrich ■ 2001). In 1999, 13.1% ("old" federal states: 19.3%) of the participants were of foreign origin and in the year 2000 the figure had dropped to only 10.3% ("old" federal states: 16.9%).

It is of particular importance to mention, however, that in the evaluation of the immediate programme distinctions are not only made on the basis of nationality, but also on the basis of the country the participants were born in. Thus, it is possible not only to provide information on the participation of young foreigners, but also on young ethnic German migrants

(*Spätaussiedler*) or, in part, about naturalised young people. In addition, differences can also be made between first and second generation – as long as the young people have not been naturalised. This is particularly important since the varying degrees of educational success of these groups can be shown and possible integration processes can be presented. In the "old" federal states, 11.4% of foreigners of the second generation, 7.4% of young migrants with foreign citizenship and 6.2% of young ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) took part in the programme of the Federal Government.

The study of their subsequent whereabouts reveals that, after completing the programme, foreigners and migrants even have a lower risk of being unemployed than German young people do: in contrast to 33.5% of all participants, only 23.9% of ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) and 28.9% of foreigners have to accept a new phase of unemployment upon completing the programme (cf. loc. cit., 19). However, these group-specific differences lose importance when statistically assessing the type of measure, performance at school, age, family background (above all, the professional status of the parents) and the region. Here, the structural weakness in the "new" federal states, which especially affects young Germans, is of particular significance. A closer analysis of the assignment of specific groups of people to individual measures is also still required (cf. *ibid.*).

Conclusion

Thus, it can be determined that numerous young foreigners participate in general measures aimed at preparation and training for professional life.²³ It is noticeable, however, that the proportion of young foreigners is decreasing for all types of measures. The participation of young people in assistance programmes during their training, for example, has dropped from approximately 22.2% (1993) to 16% (2000). This development is even clearer in "off-the-job" training: here, the proportion of formerly 33.3% (1993) has fallen to 19.1% (2000). Although youth unemployment has dropped in Germany since 1983, this positive development has had a greater effect for young Germans than for foreigners. According to statistics, the participation of young foreigners in measures at the transition between school and profession would have had to have actually increased.

Table 2: Unemployment rate of young people in Germany 1983-1999

Year	Total	Germans	Foreigners in total	of whom those who are	
				EU-citizens	Non-EU-citizens
1983	10.6	10.1	18.2	16.7	18.8
1987	7.5	6.9	15.4	10.6	18.0
1995	8.5	7.3	15.7	9.1	17.8
1999	8.9	7.8	17.4	15.2	18.1

Source: Werner/König ■ 2001, 12

A possible cause for the reduction in the number of foreign participants in general measures relating to preparation and training for professional life could certainly be the increased support given in the "new" federal states. Although more young people are supported as a result, the low percentage of foreigners in Eastern Germany means that young foreigners can hardly make use of this advantage. A closer examination of the proportion of participation in the "old" federal states, however, reveals that this fact alone is an insufficient explanation as here, too, the proportion of participation of young foreigners is shrinking although the

²³ Only very limited statements can be made about young people of a migrant background who, however, have German citizenship (ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) as well as those who have been naturalised).

percentage of young foreigners amongst unemployed young people has not grown any less. The increased number of naturalisations²⁴ could also be a cause for the relative reduction in the number of participants in measures aimed at professional integration. However, it must be said that these numbers are still relatively low so that they, too, cannot be seen as the sole explanation for this phenomenon.

Although after the abolishment of the special training courses preparing for the employment and social integration of young foreigners (MBSE) promises were made to pay more attention to young foreigners within the general measures relating to professional preparation, there does not seem to have been sufficient implementation of this claim (cf., for example, Alt/Granato ■ 2001). What is needed, above all, are concepts specific to the target groups for the training measures of the Federal Employment Office (assistance parallel to training and external training).

Alongside these special measures, however, an improvement is also needed in the general measures for the furthering of qualifications for disadvantaged young people so that an individual treatment tailored to each participants of these measures can be ensured. An aspect which at present prevents an improvement is the distribution practices for these measures by the job centres. Frequently, the cheapest supplier is given the task of implementing the measures. In addition, an extension of the measure upon its completion cannot be automatically assumed; rather, in the usual case, the implementation of the measure is newly assigned. This hampers continuity in pedagogical work and leads to the fact that many employees of the educational body are employed on a limited or freelance basis. Accordingly, only in rare cases is a pedagogical concept developed over a number of years by the same employee; it is rather the case that the fluctuation in staff leads to difficulties in pedagogical work which are to the disadvantage of the participants (cf. also Schmidt ■ 2001).



3.2. Special measures for young foreigners or young migrants respectively

Particularly in the face of this criticism of the general measures aimed at fostering professional integration, it comes as no surprise that there are a high number of special measures which are explicitly directed towards young foreigners. In this area, too, there is again an immeasurable variety of programmes and initiatives so that only several larger programmes can serve as examples.

☀ Bi-national training projects

In these training projects, young people complete their training in the usual way in the dual system, but they also receive additional training in their subject matter, given in their native tongue. A five to six-week work placement in a company in their home country (co-operation has been established with Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Turkey) is incorporated into the training. In this way, the special abilities of the young migrants, namely their bilingualism and dual culture, are employed and fostered and thereby the young people should improve their chances in the European labour market since they have new qualifications at their disposal such as job-related language skills and intercultural competence. By 1999, approximately 1,100 young people had successfully completed this

²⁴ In the year 2000, 31,200 young people aged between 15 and 25 were naturalised. This corresponds to a proportion of 2.8% of this population group (cf. Statistisches Bundesamt ■ 2002). For naturalisations according to former nationalities see table 10 in the appendix.

project, which is financed by the BMA and the countries of origin, and a further 1,000 were still involved in training (cf. Bundesministerium des Innern ■ 2000, 32). Considerations are presently being made to incorporate elements of this project into the regular training programmes.

☀ **Training in businesses run by foreigners**

In order to better utilise the training potential of "foreign-run" companies, the BMA has been supporting the programme "Mobilisation of Apprenticeships in Companies run by foreigners" (*Mobilisierung von Lehrstellen bei ausländischen Unternehmen*) since February 1998 with two regional model projects. In addition, a federal ▲ "Co-ordination Office – Training in Companies run by foreigners" (*Koordinierungsstelle – Ausbildung in ausländischen Unternehmen (KAUSA)*) was founded in co-operation with the Federal Ministry of Education.

KAUSA has been in existence since September 1999 and its aim is to activate the training potential of foreign-run businesses in Germany. Especially companies with Turkish, Italian, Greeks and Portuguese owners or managers are addressed here. Approximately 281,000 companies are run by self-employed foreigners. To date, however, "foreign-run" companies have not been particularly involved in on-the-job training, which is largely attributed to a great lack of information, fear of too many rules and regulations and the effort involved in terms of time and administration.

In order to integrate companies run by foreigners into professional training, KAUSA collates information on the federal level. This data is then gathered into a data bank which is continually updated and accessible via the Internet (<http://www.kausa.de>). Information can be obtained there, amongst other things, about projects, institutions and companies that are engaged in professional training and further education.

☀ **Pro Qualification (Pro Qualifizierung)**

The Federal Ministry of Employment also supports a joint project of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce and the Chamber of Crafts in Cologne by the name of "Pro Qualification". The project is directed towards foreign employees and encourages them to take up further professional training. The pilot project "Pro Qualification" was launched in 1997 in Cologne and was first tested in North Rhine-Westphalia. After the results were deemed to be successful, the Federal Government decided to initiate "Pro Qualification" from March 2000 as a federal co-ordination body.

The aim of "Pro Qualification" is to improve the professional situation of migrants by means of passing information regarding further professional training amongst foreign employees and their families, as well as amongst multipliers. Thus, advice centres for citizens with a migrant background have been set up in several cities. The project is implemented in co-operation with the Job Centre and the Consulates General. In Cologne, for example, advice is offered for Turkish, Italian and Greek citizens in the respective Consulates and in the Job Centres. Further information on this project can be found under www.proqua.de. In addition, in close co-operation with KAUSA, it is intended to make companies run by foreigners more aware of the fact that they could offer places for further training in their businesses.

The programme ☀ "Supporting Competence – Professional Qualification for Target Groups with a Special Need for Support" (Kompetenzen fördern – berufliche Qualifizierung für Zielgruppen mit besonderem Förderbedarf)

The programme "Supporting Competence – Professional Qualification for Target Groups with a Special Need for Support", which was decided upon by the Alliance for Employment,

Training and Competitiveness and implemented by the Federal Ministry of Education, comprises four innovative areas. The fourth area concerns itself with the improvement of opportunities for professional qualification for migrants and especially with increasing the participation of this group in training. The term "migrants" was deliberately chosen in the formulation of the fourth innovative area so as to also incorporate into the programme ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) or young people with a migrant background who have been naturalised in the meantime.

This programme aims, above all, to foster networks as "experience shows that sweeping successes with respect to improving the training situation of migrants can only be achieved when all the efforts are collated in situ" (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung ■ 2001, 16; own translation). Following the model of the "Advice Centres for the Qualification of Young Foreign Employees" (*Beratungsstellen zur Qualifizierung ausländischer Nachwuchskräfte (BQN)*), which were successfully tested in the pilot project, co-operation networks are to be established all over Germany with the aim of achieving a higher participation of migrants in training. The duty of these advice centres here is not only to offer advice to young migrants, but the BNQs should also "act as central powerhouses and centres of initiative on a local/regional level for everything which can improve the training situation of young migrants" (loc. cit., 17; own translation).²⁵ All those involved in professional training and work with migration should be included in these networks, such as vocational schools, employment administration, companies, educational institutions and also organisations set up by migrants themselves as well as those involved in social work for foreigners.

The work of the local networks is supported and co-ordinated on a federal level. For this purpose, an "Initiative Office of Professional Qualification for Migrants" (*Initiativstelle Berufliche Qualifizierung von Migrantinnen und Migranten*) was set up at the Federal Institute for Vocational Training (*Bundesinstitut für Berufsbildung (BiBB)*).

3.3. Measures for ethnic German migrants (Spätaussiedler)

Young ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) as well as young foreigners can also take part in the general measures preparing for professional life and training outlined in section 3.1.3. Figures are only available to us from the immediate programme of the Federal Government (6.2% ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*)) since, in the usual case, the only differentiation found in the statistics is according to nationality and not place of birth.²⁶ In the special measures described in section 3.2, several are designed explicitly for young foreigners. Others, in contrast, have expanded their target group to migrants so that ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) can also participate in these programmes. As an example,

²⁵ Networks are already partially in place in Germany which aim to support the professional integration of young "foreigners". Mention should be made here, for example, of the "Regional Employment Office for the Support of Children and Young People from Migrant Families" (*Regionale Arbeitsstellen zur Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen aus Zuwandererfamilien; RAA*) in North Rhine-Westphalia. In the meantime, 27 Employment Offices are co-ordinated by the main office of the RAA.

²⁶ Limited comment can also be made concerning unemployment amongst ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) as the status "ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*)" is only registered in the statistics of the Federal Office of Employment in the first five years after entering Germany. Thus, in the case of a reduction in the unemployment rate of ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*), one must bear in mind that every year a number of unemployed people are no longer registered as ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*), but as unemployed Germans.

we may mention the programme ☀ "Supporting Competence – Professional Qualification for Target Groups with a Special Need for Support", which in its fourth innovative area expressly aims to support migrants. However, there are also special measures for young ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) such as those within the field of community-orientated work.

For ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) in general, we can differentiate between three types of measures (cf. Schafer et al. ■ 1995, 10ff.):

- short-term integration seminars with topics related to cultural studies and general social and practical skills
- language teaching (mostly full-time)
- courses for professional training

In part, attempts are also being made to combine the individual courses (for example, language training and qualification) or to offer on-the-job language courses.

In summary, one may state that, in addition to the fostering of language skills which is taken up by almost all ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*), numerous ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) also attend the courses of the Federal Employment Office, for example. In the year 2000, ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) were over-represented in participation in further training courses in comparison to German and eligible foreign employees (cf. Bundesanstalt für Arbeit ■ 2001, 147).

At present, discussions are taking place regarding a model project, the "contract model" (*Kontraktmodell*), as it is known (cf., for example, AiD ■ 2001, 13). These new integration measures are being tested since February 2001 in which those involved (the state and ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*)) are contractual partners. Newly arrived ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*) enter into an integration contract with the local community authority. The duties and responsibilities of the organising body in this case are to provide an integration advisor for the individual migrants, to undertake an analysis of competence and social skills, to arrange offers of help and education as well as to give support in finding work. The obligations of the ethnic German migrants (*Spätaussiedler*), in turn, are to provide information to advisors, to take up offers of education, if necessary, and to actively seek employment.

Using the ☀ example of the Academy for Adult Education of the Hessian Association of Adult Education Centres (*Akademie für Erwachsenenbildung des Hessischen Volkshochschulverbandes*) in Korbach, the possible practical implementation of this "contract model" can be more clearly illustrated (cf. INBAS ■ 2001, 3f.). The integration contract is entered into as a kind of framework agreement. It comprises four phases which are then individually determined:

- Analysis of competence and social skills
- Language learning
- Professional orientation and qualification
- Subsequent help via courses or on-the-job training

These phases are not intended to be rigid, but can be implemented flexibly on a case-by-case basis. For example, if the aim of professional integration is achieved at an earlier stage, this phase can then be brought forward.

The aim of this model project is for target groups to better utilise the present range of courses. This is intended to occur, above all, by employing integration advisors. The latter then also offer advice to the migrants whilst the measure is in progress (for example, in a language course or further training by the Job Centre) and can thus also assist in preventing measures being prematurely broken off. The contracts run for a maximum of 18 months for adults and 24 months for young people.

At the moment, the effectiveness of this contract model is being assessed, the results of which are not yet available.

3.4. Further measures

In addition to the general and special measures preparing for professional life and training outlined above, there are also a series of (state and non-state) organisations in the area of the labour market/employment which are concerned with the topics of racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. The aim of these projects is the reduction of discrimination and xenophobia in the workplace.

Deserving of particular mention here is certainly the programme ☀ XENOS - living and working in variety (*XENOS – Leben und Arbeiten in Vielfalt*). XENOS pursues the aim of fighting racism, xenophobia and intolerance by means of concrete measures and projects. Above all, the focus is on measures against marginalisation and discrimination in the workplace. Particularly young people who have shown xenophobic thought and behaviour, or who seem open to such ideas should be addressed by XENOS. The programme should contribute to mutual understanding and support the learning and working of Germans and foreigners together. Young people are particularly addressed by its participatory approach. The project attaches importance to young people actively involving themselves in ventures against xenophobia and developing their own ideas. School projects, workshops and seminars on XENOS-specific topics are to be integrated into schools or vocational training or into everyday working life. Experts from the field of youth social work, employees in companies or in administrative bodies are to take part in further training courses on the subjects of mediation, conflict solving, intercultural training and prevention of violence. The aim is to impart options for action in order to react professionally to xenophobic situations occurring in the workplace or during vocational training.

The opening event for the XENOS project took place on 13 February 2001 in Berlin. It is a part of the pan-German "Alliance for Democracy and Tolerance – against Extremism and Violence". XENOS has been conceived as a federal programme under the auspices of the Federal Government involving the Federal Government, the Federal States, communities and other institutions. The following instruments and measures are to be supported:

- integrated local projects which are implemented as networked measures in combination with activities relating to labour-market policies,
- qualification of multipliers (conflict management, intercultural training),
- measures in schools, the workplace and companies,
- Information and sensitisation.

The content-based organisation of the programme lies jointly in the hands of the Federal Ministry of Employment (*Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung (BMA)*) and the Federal Ministry for the Family, Senior Citizens, Women and Young People (*Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend (BMFSFJ)*). The European

Office for Project Management (efp) has been given the task of being the national co-ordinating body for XENOS to implement and assist in the programme.

In the meantime, 117 projects have begun their work within the framework of XENOS (per 15.01.2001). More information, especially regarding the individual projects supported by XENOS, can be found at <http://www.XENOS-de.de> (8/1/04).

3.5. Evaluation of Qualification and Education Programmes

When considering qualification measures, the question repeatedly arises as to the efficiency of qualification and education programmes. This question becomes more pertinent due to the fact that these measures, at least in the short term, contribute to ameliorating the unemployment statistics. For this reason, the complaint is occasionally made that certain qualification programmes are merely "stopgaps for the safekeeping of unemployed young people" [own translation] (Herrmanns, quoted by Schmidt ■ 2001, 81).

These accusations can be countered by measures of evaluation and quality control. Here, one may mention as an example the studies undertaken on the appraisal of the Immediate Programme of the Federal Government (JUMP) (*Sofortprogramm der Bundesregierung*) (cf. Dietrich ■ 2001; Dietrich/Rothe ■ 2001). Also the 'Contract Model' (*Kontraktmodell*), as it is known, for the integration of ethnic German migrants is presently being assessed by the ▲ 'Society for Innovation Research and Advice' (*Gesellschaft für Innovationsforschung und Beratung mbH (GIB)*) on behalf of the Federal Office of Administration (*Bundesverwaltungsamt*). No results are available to us yet, however.

In contrast, other programmes are not evaluated in a unified way, rather individual projects are selected and evaluated by various bodies, as is the case with the XENOS programme, for example. A standard evaluation is also difficult in the case of measures implemented by the Federal Employment Office (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit) since the measures are in the hands of different educational bodies and consequently are, in part, organised very differently. An evaluation of the pedagogical work must be therefore left to the individual administrative bodies. Nevertheless, the Federal Employment Office publishes quotas (Verbleibsquoten) relating to the whereabouts of those completing the various measures so that statements can be made on the short-term effectiveness of the measures in general. The term 'Verbleibsquote' refers to the people who, six months after leaving the measure, are no longer unemployed; it is recorded as a percentage of all leavers. For the year 2001, the quota upon completing a measure for vocational training for disadvantaged young people was 86.1%. These quotas can only give a hint to the long-term integration into the labour market, however. A differentiation according to nationality and/or place of birth is not registered so that the extent to which differences exist in the quota for young Germans and migrants cannot be examined. The tables can be accessed at http://www.arbeitsamt.de/hst/services/anba/jg_2002/ebilanz2001/bericht_2001.pdf.

In summary, one can determine that, with the exception of the evaluation of the Immediate Programme of the Federal Government as well as the quotas from the Federal Employment Office, no detailed evaluation results can be given at this point, although there are numerous attempts to evaluate qualification and education measures and to measure their effectiveness. However, these often refer to individual projects or educational bodies and do not permit statements to be made on the effectiveness of the programme as a whole.

4. Discrimination in the labour market

(Stefan Rühl)

4.1. The problem of defining discrimination

In the pertinent literature on this topic, there are varying broad or narrow definitions of discrimination. For some authors, discrimination in the workplace already happens when migrants "have a worse position in the labour market or in the workplace than the German employees, independent of what the reasons for this are" (Räthzel/Sarica ■ 1994, 28). Narrower definitions see discrimination as disadvantage on the basis of characteristics which are ascribed to people, such as the characteristic of ethnic origin.

4.2. Methodological difficulties in the assessment of discrimination

It is fundamentally difficult to measure whether the disadvantage in the labour market is, in fact, due to ethnic characteristics themselves or whether other factors, particularly the abilities and preconditions of human capital (educational and professional qualifications, language skills, etc.), are not more decisive. In principle, only the "residual amount", that is, disadvantage after taking the other factors (human capital) into account, displays the actual degree of discrimination (Alba/Handl/Müller ■ 1994, 210 as well as van Suntum/Schlottboller ■ 2002, 43).

This difficulty in measuring discrimination is also revealed in the fact that there is no systematic registration and hence no national statistics of cases of discrimination. However, individual cases are collected and documented by various organisations which are consulted by people subject to discrimination. Here, mention may be made of the anti-discrimination offices (especially in North Rhine-Westphalia), those responsible for issues affecting migrants, as well as the ▲ Federation of German Trade Unions (*Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB)*). By way of limitation, it should be said that these cases are based on individual experiences by people with a migrant background. These cases allow no conclusion on the general situation concerning discrimination in the labour market.

4.3. Explanation of the disadvantage of migrants in the labour market as a function of human capital resources

In a recently published quantitative study, Granato/Kalter (■ 2001) attempted to measure precisely this "residual amount" mentioned above. They studied the possible general discrimination of foreigners whilst controlling human capital resources (that is, by comparing the situation in the labour market of German employees with foreign employees who had the same abilities and preconditions of human capital).²⁷ The following independent variables were considered in the analyses: educational qualification, nationality, generation, gender and age. In multivariable analyses, research was undertaken into whether the inequality between Germans and foreigners remains even if further independent variables have been controlled. In the generation-related results of the analyses, it is apparent that the effects of nationality are dramatically reduced for the second generation if qualifications are taken into account. Roughly summarised, the results of this study show that the differing human capital resources play the dominant role when an explanation is needed for the poorer positioning of the second generation of migrants in the labour market.

The poorer positioning of foreign employees in companies is also shown by a case study conducted by Brüggemann/Riehle (■ 2000), in which employment structure is examined more closely using the example of a large plant in the chemical industry. In this case, 45% of the approximately 2,200 employees were of foreign origin. Of this number, around 99% were workers and only 1% employees. In the case of the German staff, this relation was 57% workers to 43% employees. If one regards the division of the hierarchy within the company, then it can be determined that, of the 120 heads of department and master chemists, not one of them was of foreign origin. However, it is not possible to say whether the different positioning in the company hierarchy is a result of discrimination or the consequence of differing resources of human capital.

4.4. Status of subjectively experienced discrimination of migrants in the labour market

In spite of the results of Granato/Kalter's study, it cannot be denied that cases of discrimination do occur, both upon entering the labour market and in the workplace. This is shown by the results of several qualitative studies.²⁸

In these studies, people of a migrant background were asked about personal experiences of discrimination in various areas in life, amongst others, in the workplace. Subjectively perceived discrimination influences the integration of migrants and their children. "If the

²⁷ Granato/Kalter use micro-census data from 1996 (Western Germany). They employ for their study Germans and citizens from the typical former countries of immigration (Greece, Italy, the former Yugoslavia, Portugal, Spain and Turkey) who are employed for more than 15 hours per week. Three different categorisations were used as independent variables: unqualified work (no managerial duties), qualified work (no managerial duties), qualified work (with managerial duties), for workers and employees in each case (cf. in detail Granato/Kalter ■ 2001, 509-510).

²⁸ Cf., for example, the first results of the HOPI-project (Horizontal Project for Integration) which focuses on the development of horizontal strategies to overcome discrimination on the labour market (Cizmesija/Gavril'chenko/Pagels ■ 2000; Cizmesija/Pagels/Steinmetz ■ 2001), the thesis by Haghighi (■ 2000), the INFIS case study (Brüggemann/Riehle ■ 2000), and the EFFNATIS project (Worbs ■ 2001).

host society is perceived as “closed” and prejudiced, this may lead to a reinforcement of ethnic ties with negative consequences for the cultural, social and identificational processes” (Heckmann/Lederer/Worbs ■ 2001, 63). Thus, the individual perception of discrimination is also of importance, irrespective of the extent to which this subjective perception corresponds to the actual discrimination.

EFFNATIS study

In the EFFNATIS survey (■ Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective), the respondents (young Turks and Yugoslavians of the second generation) were asked whether they had ever personally experienced discrimination in different areas of life, for example, when trying to find an apprenticeship or a job and whilst in employment.

Table 3: Perceived discrimination when trying to find an apprenticeship or a job by group

Have experienced discrimination	Turkish CIM	%	Former Yugoslavian CIM	%
Yes	68	26.8	37	14.4
No	186	73.2	220	85.6
Total	254	100.0	257	100.0

Source: Worbs ■ 2001

CIM = Children of International Migrants

Table 4: Perceived discrimination whilst in employment by group

Have experienced discrimination	Turkish CIM	%	Former Yugoslavian CIM	%
Yes	36	14.9	30	11.9
No	206	85.1	222	88.1
Total	242	100.0	252	100.0

Source: Worbs ■ 2001

Considering the persons who have experienced discrimination, the following results are eminent:

"Concerning the search for an apprenticeship/a job, most of the respondents report rejections because of their foreigner status, their names or their clothes (headscarves, hijabs) and preferential treatment for autochthonous applicants, even if the latter are less qualified. At work, the CIM suffer from verbal abuse by fellow-employees, employers and customers, from unfair allocations of work (cleaning and other menial tasks are more often assigned to them) and from a lack of support for their career” (Worbs ■ 2000, 303).

Representative Study 2001 (Repräsentativuntersuchung 2001)

In the representative ■ study published by the Federal Ministry for Employment and Social Order (*Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung*) on the situation of foreign employees and their families in the Federal Republic of Germany, Turkish, former Yugoslavian, Italian and Greek employees and their families were questioned, amongst others, as to their experiences with discrimination. Those interviewed had to estimate whether they had been treated worse than Germans had in certain situations in the past 12

months. For the area of the labour market, access to the labour market and opportunities for further training or promotion were examined more closely.


Table 5: Perceived discrimination whilst in the employment sector by nationality

	Turkish			Former Yugoslavian			Italian			Greek		
	total	men	women	total	men	women	total	men	women	total	men	women
Basis	1003	548	455	1005	553	452	1005	614	391	1003	558	451
Not given a job by employer	10.1	11.0	8.9	9.1	10.1	8.0	5.5	6.5	3.8	6.5	6.8	6.1
Colleague was preferred for promotion/further training	5.9	8.6	2.6	3.5	5.2	1.5	3.1	4.5	0.8	2.7	3.3	1.9

Source: Federal Ministry for Employment and Social Order (Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung) ■ 2002

In general, one can determine that former Yugoslavians and, above all, Turkish people are affected more than Italians and Greeks by discrimination on the labour market; some 10.1% of all Turkish people questioned felt disadvantaged whilst seeking a job. A differentiation according to gender shows that - irrespective of nationality – migrant men are more disadvantaged on the labour market than migrant women are. If one takes the age of those questioned into account, then it becomes apparent that younger foreign workers are particularly affected by discrimination whilst seeking a job, whilst disadvantage on the job becomes more frequent only above the age of 30. Significant differences to the first representative study on the situation of foreign workers from 1995 could not be determined (cf. Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung ■ 2002, 72ff.).

HOPI project

The  HOPI project (Horizontal Project for Integration) concerns itself with forms of discrimination in the labour market, especially with disadvantages upon entering the labour market. The aim of HOPI is to develop strategies for the horizontal (that is, encompassing various target groups) combating of discrimination.

On the basis of interviews with different types of organisations (job centres, businesses, bodies responsible for education, charities) and with people with a migrant background, the following subjectively experienced forms of discrimination were frequently reported: concerning the search for an apprenticeship or a job, quite a number of the respondents report rejections because of their foreign status, their names or their clothes (headscarves), and the preferential treatment for autochthonous applicants. Another point often mentioned concerning access to the labour market is the problem that education certificates issued in migrants' home countries often are formally not recognised in Germany. Complaints were also repeatedly made about disadvantage due to certain "culture-specific" application tests in selective procedures in which, for example, questions were asked about figures particular to German history, although this knowledge was totally irrelevant for the later employment. Here, we see a case of indirect discrimination in which the disadvantage is the consequence of a formally correct procedure being the same for everyone.

At work, people with a migrant background report verbal abuse by fellow-employees, employers and customers, unfair allocations of work and a lack of support for their career. In general, one can say that people of a foreign origin are placed in lower positions, have lower prospects of promotion, are disadvantaged in internal further-education programmes and are dismissed sooner than autochthonous people. Yet it seems that especially people with

Muslim backgrounds or those of African origin (skin colour plays a role) are concerned here (Cizmesija/Gavril'chenko ■ 2000, Cizmesija/Gavril'chenko ■ 2001).

ILO study

The ■ ILO study also shed light on the discriminatory recruitment practices of some employers: in the mid-nineties, the ▲ International Labour Organisation (ILO) carried out empirical studies (using the method of controlled experiments) on employers' recruitment practices and possible discrimination against foreign staff in several industrialised countries. On behalf of the ILO, the ▲ Centre for Studies on Turkey (*Zentrum für Türkeistudien*) at Essen University was responsible for conducting this study in Germany in 1994 (Mourinho/Goldberg ■ 1995 and Goldberg/Mourinho ■ 2000). The study included preliminary job interviews via telephone where applicants with identical qualifications, but with either German or "foreign" names, applied for the same vacancy. The result was that "foreign" applicants, compared to their German counterparts, were significantly less likely to be invited to subsequent personal job interviews, or that "foreign" applicants were told that respective vacancies had already been filled, even though "German" applicants who called later were still invited to subsequent job interviews.

4.5. Measures against discrimination at work

Frequently discrimination is not made public as those affected often keep silent in these cases, for fear of the consequences, for example. Nevertheless, the problem of discrimination in the workplace is well known. Thus, there are ☀ anti-discrimination programmes in a number of large companies (for example, in BASF). In addition, in recent years (since the mid-1990s), ☀ agreements have been reached between the management and the works council against discrimination and racism (for example, at Ford, Opel, VW, Fraport, Thyssen, Jenoptik).²⁹ The Federation of German Trade Unions has developed a model agreement on the basis of the § EU guidelines which must be adopted into national law by the German lawmakers by the end of 2003.

4.6. Legal rulings on discrimination and xenophobia in the labour market or in the workplace

Despite the tendency to remain silent about discrimination in the workplace, some cases of discrimination do come before the courts. Some of this limited number of cases is mentioned below:

Frankfurt regional court ruled in March 2001 that the termination of employment of the manager of a limited liability company solely on the basis of his ethnic origin was contrary to public policy and hence invalid. This lawsuit filed by a British citizen of Indian origin against the German subsidiary of a Turkish bank was thus successful (§ File number 3-13 O 78/00).

Some cases handled by the courts relate to lawsuits against the refusal to employ a female teacher on the basis of her wearing a headscarf whilst teaching. One of these court cases in 2001 caused a highly controversial public discourse. In June, the High Administrative Court (*Verwaltungsgerichtshof (VGH)*) of Baden-Württemberg rejected the appeal lodged by a

²⁹ These agreements can be consulted on the homepage of the trade union, IG Metall (<http://www.igmetall.de>).

female teacher of Muslim faith against the School Board in Stuttgart which had prohibited her wearing an Islamic headscarf in class. The VGH ruled that the headscarf was not merely an item of clothing, but rather a “religious symbol” and that she had no right to wear such a visible symbol in class, regardless of her good teaching record (§ File number: 4 S 1439/00). Whereas some interest groups perceived this as a form of discrimination, others considered it only a measure to keep political and religious controversies out of school. After this incident the debate on wearing an Islamic headscarf (“*Kopftuchdebatte*”) concerned nurses as well (cf. Van Suntum/Schlotböller ■ 2001, 185).

In another case, which came before the Administrative Court (*Verwaltungsgericht*) in Lüneburg, the plaintiff, a 42-year-old woman of German origin who had converted to the Muslim faith, won her lawsuit and had to be employed in school (§ File number: 1A 98/00). The court ruled that wearing a headscarf as an expression of her religious faith “is not contrary to her suitability and aptitude as a teacher”. The aforementioned judgements show that there is no consistent jurisdiction in these cases as yet.

More frequently dealt with in the courts are cases of xenophobic or racist attacks in the workplace against employees of foreign origin. Laws concerning employment expressly provide the chance to dismiss employees who are seen to carry out (xenophobic or racist) attacks (verbal or physical) on foreign fellow-employees. These laws “include both individual legal regulations, such as warnings and dismissal, as well as collective legal provisions, especially the new norms of the § Works Council Constitution Law (*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz (BetrVG)*)” (Opolony ■ 2001, 456; own translation). However, those affected frequently do not take action against such actions themselves for fear of the consequences, but the employers issue notices of dismissal against the “perpetrators”. Thus, an employer can dismiss an employee if the latter creates a xenophobic or anti-Semitic atmosphere by means of xenophobic or extreme right-wing utterances or acts and consequently disturbs the peace in the workplace. In recent years, employment legislation has increasingly had to deal with cases of racist actions in the workplace, in particular cases of abuse and racist utterances against foreign fellow-employees.

In the industrial tribunals, appeals are increasingly filed against dismissals because of xenophobic behaviour. Here, too, there have been differing rulings according to the individual case (*Betriebsverfassungsgesetz (BetrVG)*).

The following should serve as an example of a judgement passed at the highest level of the court system: the Federal Industrial Tribunal (*Bundesarbeitsgericht (BAG)*) (judgement of 1.7.1999 - 2 § File number: 676/98) ruled in favour of the instant dismissal without prior warning of a trainee who, during his working hours, had made a metal sign with the words “Work makes one free - Turkey beautiful country” (“Arbeit macht frei – Türkei schönes Land”) and affixed it to the workbench of a Turkish workmate. He had also sung songs with an anti-Semitic and Nazi content whilst still in the workplace.

Two years before, the State Industrial Tribunal (*Landesarbeitsgericht*) of Rhineland-Palatinate had ruled that xenophobic behaviour at work is a cause for dismissal (§ File number: 6 Sa 309/97). The court rejected the appeal of a machine operator against his dismissal for confronting a Turkish fellow-employee with xenophobic utterances and drawings. For example, he had threatened his Turkish workmate that he would be “strung up as soon as the order came from above”.

Conclusion

In summary, it can be said that the poor positioning in the labour market of people with a migrant background can largely be explained by human capital factors. Nonetheless, there are cases of discrimination in the workplace, of which only very few come before the courts. However, it must be stated that legal restrictions in the labour market exist for foreigners. For example, foreign employees are excluded from certain professions due to the laws relating to becoming a civil servant, which requires German citizenship. In the case of "urgent official need", however, exceptions can be made, particularly in the fields of education and social work as well as for the police and prison service.

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Appendix: Tables

Table 6: Foreign nationals and total population of Germany 1991 – 2001

year	total population ¹	foreign population ¹	percentage of foreign nationals	change in foreign population (in %) ²
1991 ³	80,274,600	5,882,267	7.3	-
1992	80,974,600	6,495,792	8.0	+10.4
1993	81,338,100	6,878,117	8.5	+5.9
1994	81,538,600	6,990,510	8.6	+1.6
1995	81,817,500	7,173,866	8.8	+2.6
1996	82,012,200	7,314,046	8.9	+2.0
1997	82,057,400	7,365,833	9.0	+0.7
1998	82,037,000	7,319,593	8.9	-0.6
1999	82,163,500	7,343,591	8.9	+0.3
2000	82,259,500	7,296,817	8.9	-0.6
2001	82,440,400	7,318,628	8.9	+0.3

Source: Federal Statistical Office

1) as of 31st December. Registered as foreigners are all persons who do not possess the German nationality (including stateless persons and persons whose nationality is not clear). Persons with multiple citizenship, who are nationals both of Germany and an additional country, are registered as German citizens.

2) annual change, i.e. compared to previous year.

3) since 31st December 1991, data refers to German territory as of 3rd October 1990.

Table 7: Non-German Residents in Germany according to the main nationalities 1990 – 2001

	Total	Turkey	Yugoslavia ²	Italy	Greece	Poland	Croatia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	others
1990	5,342,532	1,694,649	662,691	552,440	320,181	242,013	-	-	1,870,558
1991 ¹	5,882,267	1,779,586	775,082	560,090	336,893	271,198	-	-	2,159,418
1992	6,495,792	1,854,945	915,636	557,709	345,902	285,553	82,516	19,904	2,433,627
1993	6,878,117	1,918,400	929,647	563,009	351,976	260,514	153,146	139,126	2,562,299
1994	6,990,510	1,965,577	834,781	571,900	355,583	263,381	176,251	249,383	2,573,654
1995	7,173,866	2,014,311	797,754	586,089	359,556	276,753	185,122	316,024	2,638,257
1996	7,314,046	2,049,060	754,311	599,429	362,539	283,356	201,923	340,526	2,722,902
1997	7,365,833	2,107,426	721,029	607,868	363,202	283,312	206,554	281,380	2,609,986
1998	7,319,593	2,110,223	719,474	612,048	363,514	283,604	208,909	190,119	2,831,702
1999	7,343,591	2,053,564	737,204	615,900	364,354	291,673	213,954	167,690	2,899,252
2000	7,296,817	1,998,534	662,495	619,060	365,438	301,366	216,827	156,294	2,976,803
2001	7,318,628	1,947,938	627,523	616,282	362,708	310,432	223,819	159,042	3,070,884

Source: Federal Statistical Office

1) since 1991, data refers to German territory as of 3rd October 1990.

2) Yugoslavia in 1992 comprises Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro, from 1993 only Serbia and Montenegro.

Table 8: Residence status¹ of non-German residents of selected nationalities (31st December 2000)

Nationality	Residence status							
	Total ⁴	Residence permit		Residence entitlement	Residence allowance	Residence authorisation	Leave of residence	Toleration certificate
		limited	unlimited					
Turkey	1,998,534	712,880	624,314	465,133	7,459	26,354	28,881	14,405
FR Yugoslavia ²	662,495	114,781	160,927	98,697	3,706	24,439	56,239	120,381
Bosnia-Herzegovina	156,294	41,723	29,497	22,838	2,961	6,535	3,376	34,303
Poland	301,366	88,721	74,776	7,821	50,170	7,728	437	1,215
Croatia	216,827	44,218	81,584	69,125	8,404	986	269	2,452
Russian Federation	115,856	38,424	47,415	353	8,522	2,014	3,245	1,831
Iran	107,927	22,204	39,295	10,808	2,133	8,277	11,007	2,036
Romania	90,094	20,777	16,070	665	15,845	2,387	2,315	1,059
Ukraine	89,282	15,680	57,297	88	4,852	1,108	469	731
Vietnam	84,138	23,493	25,886	1,707	1,330	9,329	2,662	9,216
Morocco	80,266	31,412	23,656	9,400	5,779	242	327	384
Afghanistan	72,199	8,768	12,828	228	246	20,536	14,564	13,124
Iraq	60,913	3,393	10,872	87	126	25,558	12,380	2,397
Sri Lanka	50,579	15,121	10,536	2,987	288	5,744	4,694	2,994
Hungary	54,437	10,800	14,141	4,271	16,448	331	46	77
Lebanon	51,375	12,798	7,636	363	550	14,547	2,121	5,397
China	50,885	14,215	4,956	932	17,177	2,409	2,940	2,257
Tunisia	24,136	8,740	7,164	2,864	1,366	154	298	111
Total ³	7,296,817	1,727,381	2,037,428	809,883	262,711	199,233	199,831	261,506

Source: Federal Government Commissioner for Foreign Resident Affairs, Federal Administrative Office (Central Register for Foreigners)

1) Foreign-resident law in Germany differentiates between the following residence titles:

A *Residence Entitlement* (*Aufenthaltsberechtigung*) can be granted on application to foreign residents who have been legal residents of Germany for eight years, provided that further requirements are met (e.g. that applicants are able to earn their own living without resorting to welfare payments). Residence entitlements are the most secure residence title since they are unlimited, i.e. there are no restrictions concerning the duration and place of residence.

A *Limited Residence Permit* (*befristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*) forms the basis for a subsequent permanent residence status. In accordance with the duration of the residence, the residence status becomes legally more secure. Residence permits are granted unrelated to the purpose of residence in Germany.

An *Unlimited Residence Permit* (*unbefristete Aufenthaltserlaubnis*) constitutes the first step towards a permanent residence status. The main condition is that the applicants have been legal residents (with a limited residence permit) for at least five years. If further requirements are met, applicants are entitled to receive this residence status.

A *Residence Allowance* (*Aufenthaltsbewilligung*) allows residence for a clearly defined purpose; consequently, it limits the duration of residence (e.g. for university students, contract workers).

A *Residence Authorisation* (*Aufenthaltsbefugnis*) is granted because of international law, or for humanitarian or political reasons. It can only be extended if these humanitarian grounds continue to apply. This residence status is granted to, among others, quota and civil-war refugees.

Leaves of Residence (*Aufenthalts gestattet*) and *Toleration Certificates* (*Duldung*) constitute two further legal titles which, however are not classified as residence titles. A leave of residence is granted to asylum seekers for the duration of asylum procedures, and limits their right to movement to the district they have been allocated to by the authorities. A toleration certificate provides temporary protection against deportation, without repealing the general obligation to leave the country.

2) Category includes all persons registered by the Central Register for Foreigners as Yugoslavian nationals (on a set date).

3) The difference between the sum of different residence titles and the category "total" is, at least partly, due to the fact that EU nationals are virtually exempt from residence regulations. About 409,319 EU nationals had a limited Residence Permit – EC, a further 416,349 persons an unlimited Residence Permit – EC.

4) If one sums up individual columns, it becomes obvious that these sums differ, in part considerably, from the total given for individual countries. E.g. there are no data on the residence status of almost 120,000 Turkish nationals or of 34% of Romanian nationals.

Table 9: Residence status of non-German residents of selected nationalities (31st December 2001)

Nationality	Residence status							
	Total ³	Residence permit		Residence entitlement	Residence allowance	Residence authorisation	Leave of Residence ³	Toleration certificate
		limited	unlimited					
Turkey	1,947,938	668,000	638,923	457,896	8,223	29,724		14,749
FR Yugoslavia ¹	627,241	111,241	155,984	94,700	3,694	41,366		102,783
Bosnia-Herzegovina	159,042	40,767	34,760	24,099	3,197	21,506		19,277
Poland	310,432	88,662	82,181	8,284	54,638	6,688		1,126
Croatia	223,819	42,405	87,696	72,124	8,519	1,392		2,078
Russian Federation	136,080	46,279	54,312	434	10,131	2,064		2,662
Iran	98,555	19,556	34,974	9,419	2,328	8,621		2,731
Romania	88,102	21,890	17,222	701	15,573	2,303		1,007
Ukraine	103,477	19,395	65,161	105	6,745	1,049		790
Vietnam	85,910	25,261	23,000	4,568	1,445	9,748		9,459
Morocco	79,444	30,376	23,750	9,112	6,672	277		374
Afghanistan	71,662	9,183	14,210	221	324	21,422		11,009
Sri Lanka	46,632	14,627	9,989	3,081	302	5,832		2,744
Hungary	55,978	10,952	14,709	4,316	17,524	296		72
Lebanon	49,109	12,567	7,592	360	752	13,823		5,166
China	63,111	15,751	5,379	1,020	26,705	1,951		2,860
Tunisia	24,066	8,657	7,271	2,682	1,610	160		141
Total	7,318,628	1,682,516	2,015,234	797,822	296,328	247,772		233,224

Source: Federal Government Commissioner for Foreign Resident Affairs, Federal Administrative Office (Central Register for Foreigners)

1) Category includes all persons registered by the Central Register for Foreigners as Yugoslavian nationals (on a set date).

2) The difference between the sum of different residence titles and the category “total” is, at least partly, due to the fact that EU nationals are virtually exempt from residence regulations. About 397,282 EU nationals had a limited Residence Permit – EC, a further 516,075 persons an unlimited Residence Permit – EC.

3) Data for 2001 has not been available yet.

Table 10: Naturalisation according to former nationalities 1995 – 2001

	Total	Turkey	Iran	Yugoslavia	Afghanistan	Morocco	Libanon	Croatia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Vietnam
1995	71,981	31,578	874	3,623	1,666	3,397		2,637	2,010	3,430
1996	86,356	46,294	649	2,967	1,819	3,149	784	2,391	1,926	3,553
1997	82,913	39,111	919	1,989	1,454	4,010	1,134	1,789	995	3,119
1998	106,790	53,696	1,131	2,404	1,118	4,971	1,692	2,198	3,469	3,452
1999	143,267	103,900	1,863	3,608		4,980	2,515	1,648	4,238	2,597
2000	186,688	82,861	14,410	9,776	4,773	5,008	5,673	3,316	4,002	4,489
2001	178,098	75,573	12,020	12,000	5,111	4,425	4,486	3,931	3,791	3,014

Source: Federal Statistical Office